I.B.TAURIS

NUR MASALHA

PALESTINE ACROSS MILLENNIA

A History of Literacy, Learning and Educational Revolutions

PALESTINE ACROSS MILLENNIA

PALESTINE ACROSS MILLENNIA

A History of Literacy, Learning and Educational Revolutions

Nur Masalha

I.B. TAURIS
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

I.B. TAURIS
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, Ireland

BLOOMSBURY, I.B. TAURIS and the I.B. Tauris logo
are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2022

Copyright © Nur Masalha, 2022

Nur Masalha has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs
and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

For legal purposes the Acknowledgements on p. vii constitute
an extension of this copyright page.

Cover image: Mar Saba Monastery. (© kolderal/Getty Images)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or
transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including
photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system,
without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for,
any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given
in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher
regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have
ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN:	HB:	978-0-7556-4294-6
	PB:	978-0-7556-4295-3
	ePDF:	978-0-7556-4296-0
	ePUB:	978-0-7556-4297-7

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction 1

1 Literacy and Functionality: The Scribal Schools of Ancient Palestine 49

2 Cities of Learning: The Intellectual Revolutions of Byzantine Palestine (Third to Early Seventh Century) 59

3 Greek and Syriac into Arabic and the Palestinian Translation Movement under Islam: Monasteries of Learning, Mar Saba and Arabic *Belles-Lettres* (Eighth–Eleventh Century) 103

4 Latin Learning and the Crusader Kingdoms of Palestine: The Library of Nazareth 135

5 The Golden Age of the Islamic Law Colleges of Jerusalem: The Palestinian Madrasas under the Ayyubids and Mamluks (1187–1517) 143

6 Legal Pluralism and the Social World of Palestine in the Seventeenth Century: The Azhar College of Cairo and Palestinian Muslim Scholars 191

7 The 'Azhar' of Palestine: The Ahmadiyya Seminary of Acre (1782–1948) 201

8 Modernity, the Printing Press and Mass Literacy: The Educational Revolution of Late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory Period (1860s–1948) 207

9 Humanism and Arab *Nahda* Education: Khalil Sakakini and Reforming Palestinian Education 239

10 Learning from Below: The *Kuttab* Schools in Palestine (Muslim, Jewish and Christian) 253

11 Between Professionalism and Cultural Nationalism: Palestinian Education in Mandatory Palestine (1918–1948) 267

Epilogue: The Libraries, Archival Collections and Sharia Courts' Records of Modern Palestine 283

Notes 294
Bibliography 299
Index 333

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While working on this book, I benefited from the wide range of scholarship and knowledge of many authors around the world. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Rosemary Sayigh, Ilan Pappe, Yosefa Loshitzky and Ronit Lentin as well as other unnamed reviewers for reading and commenting on earlier drafts and various chapters of this book. I also want to thank Hussain Hamzah, Ghaleb Anabseh, Raja Khalidi, Mohamed Abattouy, Hamdan Taha, Mahmoud Hawari, Haim Bresheeth, Ahmad Sadi, Peter Mayo, André Elias Mazawi, Nahla Abdo, Dina Matar, Tahrir Hamdi, Tayseer Abu Odeh, John Docker, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Walid Khalidi, Salman Abu Sitta, Ali Sabbah Khattab and other unnamed scholars who helped me with ideas and materials on the history of education in Palestine and the Arab world. My wife Stephanie and my daughter Maryam have always been a source of guidance, inspiration and strength, all of which have aided the completion of this enterprise. Needless to say, all imperfections and shortcomings of this work are mine alone.

INTRODUCTION

A Land Without Literacy?

Palestine, of all the countries on Earth, the literary critic Edward Said reminds us (UC Berkeley Events 2007), is one of the most densely saturated places of cultural and religious significance. Situated in the middle of the Fertile Crescent – the 'cradle of civilizations' – and ancient trade routes, Palestine and the *Palestinians* were closely associated with early alphabetical writing and many of the intellectual revolutions of the past four millennia. Bronze Age Palestine was also closely associated with early alphabetical writing and the transition from a pictogram-based writing system, associated with the early writings of Egypt (hieroglyphs) and Mesopotamia, to the ancient Semitic alphabet. The archaeology of literacy and literary culture in Palestine (and its surrounding countries) had multiple beginnings. One beginning is associated with the invention of the alphabet, a 'transitional' Semitic script in the Bronze Age Levant (Palestine included). Often referred to as the 'proto-Canaanite' script, this pictographic-consonantal alphabet of twenty-two acrophobic pictorial glyphs is found in texts in the Levant of the middle/late Bronze Age (1600–1100 BC). The importance of this Bronze Age Levantine revolution is evident from the fact that this script became the common ancestor of all ancient (linear) alphabet (abjad) scripts (including the Aramaic, South Arabian, Phoenician, Hebrew and Greek alphabets) and all modern alphabets (A. Cross 2009; F. Cross 1980: 1–20; Rollston 2020: 65–81).[1] While the complex pictogram-based writing systems required one to memorize hundreds of signs and took many years of study to gain literacy, the invention of the alphabet required one to learn only tweny-two signs, each representing a phoneme, which contributed to the relative spread of writing skills in the ancient world (A. Cross 2009).

Today Palestinian literacy rates are among the highest in the world. This book tells the story of the long and contextual history of learning in Palestine; it explores the religious, cultural and intellectual significance and literary production of a Mediterranean country that is positioned at the intersection of three continents (Asia, Africa and Europe), as well as old civilizations which invented writing.

However, today it is widely recognized that historical writing is produced by colonial settlers and conquerors and is a chorus often dominated by the loudest voices of the powerful elites. Writing the history of Palestine is no exception and the indigenous (and autonomous) agency of Palestine and the Palestinians is often overlooked or silenced.

Moreover, in the early years of their efforts to secure support for their settler enterprise in Palestine, the Zionists propagated in the West the notion of 'a land without a people, for a people without a land'. However, using interchangeably the ideas of 'a land without people' and 'a land without a people' allowed Zionist Orientalists to claim that they did not intend these demographic assessments in a literal fashion. They did not mean there were no people in Palestine, but that there were no people worth considering or according equal rights within the framework of the notions of European cultural and racial supremacy that then held sway; that Palestine, before the arrival of the Zionist settlers in the late nineteenth century, was culturally desolate, educationally illiterate and culturally barren; that there was no Arab people living in intimate fusion with the country, cultivating its fertile land, utilizing its resources and stamping it, culturally and artistically, with a distinctive characteristic of self-recording and self-representation. The most extremist Zionist leaders also claimed that there was, at best, an Arab encampment in Palestine (Masalha 1992, 1997). But Zionist narrative sought to emphasize the supremacy of modern European Jewish education as a way of justifying the settler-colonization of Palestine.

Challenging the conventional perception, and the claims of the Zionist narrative of Palestine for centuries being a 'black hole' of nothingness, devoid of literacy, literary culture and education, this account of the cultural history of the country demonstrates that Palestine was not just a 'holy land' for what became known as the four monotheistic religions (Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Samaritanism) but also it evolved to become a major international site of classical education and knowledge production in multiple languages: Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin, amongst others. Furthermore, this cultural history of the Palestinians, the indigenous (and indigenized) people of Palestine, shows that Palestinian learning and scholarship are deeply embedded in the ancient past. This autochthonous and historical heritage long preceded the emergence of modern Palestinian nationalism and the advent of European Zionist settler-colonialism before the First World War. This book introduces the long intellectual and cultural history of Palestine with specific reference to writing, learning, literary production and (forgotten) educational revolutions in the country as well as cross-cultural reflections.

The cultural and intellectual history of Palestine and the Palestinians cannot be confined to the modern period. While most historians confine the use of the term *Palestinian* to the modern era, or the rise of modern Palestinian nationalism from the late Ottoman period onwards, while endowing this nationalism with *ethnic* connotations, my seminal work *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (2018) argues that the history and heritage of Palestine have their roots not in

the modern period but in ancient history. Therefore, for both logical reasons and on the basis of evidential empirical facts, my 2018 work extends the application of the term *Palestinian* to ancient Palestine. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the term *Palestinian* applies here to *being Palestinian* and *becoming Palestinian* and to the *indigenous* and *indigenized* people of Palestine. Also, ethnic and racial categories are modern constructs and the term *Palestinian* used in this work has no *ethnic* designation or racial connotations; it is a term of geopolitical and cultural geography and a term derived from the social, cultural and political experiences of Palestine – a country whose realities since the Bronze Age have been extensively documented (Masalha 2018). Moreover, the term *Palestinian* applied here is inclusive and refers to polytheistic ancient Palestinians as well as to Muslims, Christians, Jews, Samaritans, Arabs and other indigenized Palestinians. The term *Palestinian* also applies to Greek- and Syriac-speaking educational institutions in ancient Palestine and to the Palestinians as a whole under the Romans and Byzantines; both Greek and Syriac in Palestine had little to do with 'ethnicity' and ethnic Greek communities in the country; these languages were used by predominantly indigenous and indigenized Palestinians who would subsequently switch into producing knowledge and literary works in Arabic under early Islamic rule, especially from the eighth century onwards.

The Latin term *codex* is widely used today to describe ancient manuscript books and documents, which, unlike modern paper books, were generally composed of sheets of papyrus, parchment scrolls and other materials. Furthermore, today the *codex* aspects of textuality refer to the *written* aspects of the text, rather than to the *oral* and rhetorical performance aspects of textualities. Both the written (codex) aspects of literacy and literary culture and the oral performance aspects of textualities are explored in this work as essential parts of the cultural and intellectual histories and living memories of Palestine. Text and textuality have remained central to Orientalism and Oriental perceptions of the Middle East and the Arab world, Palestine included. Crucially, textuality and written (codex) literacy have also been pivotal to more recent Zionist claims of pre-1900 Palestine being 'a land without literacy'; a land without a significant pre-modern literary culture and education. A more nuanced version of this cultural assessment of Palestine is found in the work of Israeli academic Ami Ayalon (of Tel Aviv University): *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948* (2004). A widely cited book – and in many ways an important work on the Arabic linguistic and textual revolution of the first half of the twentieth century – it dichotomizes a 'near-complete illiteracy' in pre-twentieth-century Palestine versus a 'new' (modern, secular, Western) literacy in post-1900 Palestine. Dismissing the contribution of the Kuttab and Quranic schools to basic literacy skills in pre-1948 Palestine (Ayalon 2004: 32), and silencing the spectacular history of the Islamic higher educational colleges of medieval Palestine, Ayalon claims that pre-twentieth-century Palestine was characterized by 'near-complete illiteracy' (1). But how could Muslim-majority Palestine be a 'land without literacy' before the twentieth century, while, at the same

time, being capable of creating a flourishing legal literacy and of self-recording and producing hundreds of thousands of handwritten records (*sijills*) of Sharia Courts in Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa and Nazareth – mountains of legal documents and texts which cover nearly half a millennium and today are an indispensable source for the political, social and economic history of Ottoman Palestine? The medieval Arabic term *sijill* meant 'book, writing, record keeping' and record archiving.

In the various chapters in this book, I will not only be challenging the perception that pre-twentieth-century Palestine was a 'land without literacy', or a country without a self-literary culture, but also showing the incredibly rich urban society and multifaceted history of education and cultural production in Palestine. Urban progress in Palestine, multiliteracies and civic education were central to formal classical education (Greek: *παιδεία*) at the world-famous rhetorical School of Gaza, or 'university', in Byzantine Palestine. The construction of complex relations between 'town and gown' and linking the academic intellectual life of this university college to civic roles and duties (Hadjittofi 2019: 145–63; Westberg 2019: 164–86) was based on an educational philosophy of 'civil society' and citizenship directed towards the creation of an 'ideal city-state' in Byzantine Palestine; this rational philosophy of education viewed the city (*polis*; *πόλις*), its administration and its citizens not as subjects of imperial or autocratic government, but as an association of educated self-governing 'rational' citizens.

Moreover, long before the twentieth century and the modern era, and for many centuries under Islam, Palestine, rather than being an 'illiterate country', was a thriving Arab country, and a flourishing cultural and intellectual centre of learning and self-recording. Many of the works on education in Palestine have focused on 'modernity', nationalism and the modern era – with little consideration for the long history of educational practices in the country – and on the major role education played in the Palestinian national movement and, generally, on education as a tool for national identity and cultural 'nation building'. While all nationalisms are a modern phenomenon, this work shows that literary culture and education in Palestine are not 'modern inventions' by Palestinian nationalist or Western missionaries in Palestine, but rather go back millennia. Commenting on scribal schools, writing and literacy in ancient Palestine, Palestinian archaeologist Hamdan Taha writes:

> Teaching is one of the old professions in Palestine as is evident from these cuneiform writings. The teacher's text from Tell Balata forms a unique literary historical evidence of schools in Palestine from 3,500 years ago. It throws light on cultural life in the Canaanite period and shows the striking similarities between ancient and modern schools with regard to the education system, the material that was taught, the fear of being late for school, and delays in payment. Teaching was probably not the most privileged profession financially, but for sure it has been one of the most honorable professions throughout history.
>
> (Taha 2018)

The saturated cultural, religious and material heritage of Palestine includes landmark mosques, churches and synagogues, historic schools, colleges and libraries, old caravanserais, pilgrim hostels, amphitheatres, Islamic lodges for Sufi teachers and a whole variety of cultural venues and institutions. The contextualized history of literary culture and schooling in Palestine – to paraphrase an expression coined by Lebanese historian Kamal Salibi (1988) in connection with the history of Lebanon being a 'house of many mansions' – is *a house of many learning centres and multiple literacies.*

In imaginative curricula and critical classroom practices, which aim to produce a critical and imaginative human agency, both depth and breadth of knowledge are required. While critical thinking in the form of literacy and numeracy can produce 'depth of knowledge', multiliteracies (combining linguistic, visual, emotional and musical literacies) can create 'breadth of knowledge'. Generally, school curricula have evolved historically and continue to do so; for instance, in 2019 Mediterranean Tunisia become the first country in the Middle East and North Africa to introduce sex education into its primary school curriculum ('Tunisia Becomes First Country in the MENA Region to Introduce Sex Ed in Schools' 2019). Also in 2019 compulsory lessons on climate change and sustainability have been introduced into Italian school curricula ('Climate Change: Compulsory Lessons on Climate Change and Sustainability for Italian Schools' 2019). The variety of teaching and learning methods and the diversity of the evolving goals and curricula of education are a product of historical and social developments from ancient to medieval to modern times. Today, critical reading skills in elementary education require the ability to differentiate between 'fact' and 'fiction', 'myth' and 'reality'. For many centuries throughout antiquity, Hellenistic classical education deeply affected Mediterranean Palestine and resulted in the flourishing of a spectacular, world-famous higher education system in the country.

The history of teaching and learning in Palestine has 'multiple beginnings' and is rooted in multiple objectives. For many centuries literacy skills combined with advanced education in Palestine were the monopoly of (secular and religious) privileged scholarly elites, power-linked scribal groups and official administrators – although this monopoly was broken during the 'golden ages' of educational expansion in (Christian) Byzantine and Muslim Mamluk Palestine and with the advent of mass literacy in the second half of the nineteenth century. In *Beginnings: Intentions and Method* (1975), critical cultural theorist Edward Said differentiates 'beginnings' from 'origins'; the latter are absolutist, divine, mysterious, biblical, mythical, elitist and privileged, the former worldly, humanly produced, constantly evolving and critically re-examined. Inspired by the critical literary work of Edward Said and the modern pedagogical practices of Khalil Sakakini (1878–1953), Abdul Latif Tibawi (1910–81), Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (1929–2001), Elizabeth Nasir (d.1987) and others, this book is not about literacy and numeracy skills in the narrow and literal sense; it is about the long history

and 'multiple beginnings' of learning in Palestine – with new *beginnings* which simultaneously give us a sense of continuity and rupture with the past.

The long history of literary culture in Palestine includes experiences of 'self-instituting' (*αυτο-νομούνται*) – to borrow an expression from the late Greek thinker Cornelius Castoriadis (1986: 373–90) – and self-transforming social capital. The book is also about the ways in which educational institutions have evolved, have been experienced by students and have been socially produced and constructed across millennia in Palestine. Modern thinkers from English empiricist scientist Francis Bacon (1561–1626) to Friedrich Nietzsche, Khalil Sakakini, Michel Foucault (2002), Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux all recognized the knowledge/sciences-power nexus. Moreover, critical educational theorist Henry Giroux argued that education and pedagogy are about the production of specific agency, with a particular view of the present and future; pedagogy is also about how knowledge, social values and desires, and social relations are always linked to the construction and exercise of power (Barroso Triston 2013).

The archaeology of literacy, learning and literary culture, first found in the ancient civilizations of the Near East and later in the classical Mediterranean world, can be traced to privileged, powerful and official elites. Traces of the connection between ancient classical education and social elites can be found in the origins of the word *school*; the word, which loosely refers to a place of learning, is derived from the ancient Greek *schole* (*σχολή*), which has a meaning that will not surprise modern teachers – 'leisure' and 'pleasure'; today, children are encouraged by educators and authors to 'read for pleasure'. The ancient Greek *schole* hints at classical education, which began with informal teaching circles, the privilege of aristocratic, wealthy and patrician elites and run by private teachers. Later the heads of the renowned Platonic Academy, founded in Athens in *c*. 387 BC by Plato (*c*. 428–348 BC), were called *scholarch* or *scholarches* (*σχολάρχης*), a compound word produced of *schole* (*σχολή*), 'school', and *arche* (*ἀρχή*), 'ruler'.

Classical education was never confined to ancient Greece and continued to evolve in the Near East, especially under the Romans and Byzantines in Egypt and Palestine. Scholarchs also served as heads of higher educational schools and colleges in urban Byzantine Palestine throughout late antiquity and the Byzantine era. The modern term *pedagogy* (*παιδαγωγία*, paidagogía), for 'education' and 'instruction', sprang from the classical Greek *paideia* (*παιδεία*), a concept promoted widely by the renowned rhetorical School of Gaza in Byzantine Palestine. Also, the ancient term *paidagogós* (*παιδαγωγός*) was used in Byzantine Gaza (Palestine) and Alexandria (Egypt) for 'teacher' and civic 'leader'. In the cultures of classical Greece and Byzantine Palestine *paideia* referred to the civic education of the ideal members of the *polis* or city-state. The term *education* comes from Latin and the ancient Roman home, which was keen on the Greek model of education, and from the Latin *educato* (breeding, bringing up, rearing), and referred not to schooling or intellectual progress, but to the physical bringing up of the child and the moulding and refining of the character of young people (Bonner 2012: xi).

While exploring in detail the long history of classical and Hellenistic learning in ancient Palestine and the Levant, it would be wrong to assume that all Arabic and Islamic concepts of education (Arabic: *tarbiya*) should be credited to Hellenistic and classical learning and practices. The Arabs, especially for several centuries under classical Islam, developed their own distinctive forms of educational intuitions and practices and produced their own empirical scientific revolutions. However, undeniably classical cross-cultural influences continued under Arab rule and Islam which incorporated, adapted and developed further many aspects of classical learning, including the Islamic traditions of Aristotelian philosophy. This Aristotelian learning included character education and this embodied the capacity of the individual person to think and act in an autonomous way. The Arabic terms for cultivated education – *tarbiya*, *tahdhib* (Ibn Miskawayh 1968) and *taʾaleem* (teaching, instruction, schooling, learning, education, study) – were often adapted, refined and used to combine different aspects of classical learning with ancient Near Eastern and indigenous and indigenized Arab traditions of learning. Ultimately – as we shall see in Chapters 5 to 8 – for over a millennium Arabic education in Palestine, including the fiqh (law) colleges of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, were largely shaped and formed within the distinct Islamic philosophical and legal traditions.

Today, modern humanist and progressive experiments and critical educational theories are based on what Paulo Freire described as pedagogy of liberation, hope and critically engaged praxis (Freire 1970, 1994; Freire and Faundez 1989) – something that was central to the 'pedagogy of *Nahda*' of Palestinian educator Khalil Sakakini, the founder of modern schools in Jerusalem, who became the most influential modern Palestinian pedagogical innovator in the first half of the twentieth century. Applying an interdisciplinary approach to the long intellectual and cultural history of Palestine, this work will also build on the modern educational theories of Khalil Sakakini, Paulo Freire, Edward Said and others, and explore: (1) the multitude of historical approaches to ancient cosmopolitan, transnational and modern education in Palestine, and (2) the cultivation of humanist, progressive and interdisciplinary approaches to pedagogy in Palestine within global approaches to education.

Often a range of histories associated with literacy and learning (listed below) are treated separately by authors. This book, while focusing on teaching and learning in Palestine, brings them together. In this introduction, I will provide an overview of the history of learning in Palestine from ancient times to the present day across thirteen themes:

1. *the history of writing and literacy;*
2. *the material culture of literacy: clay tablets, papyrus, parchment, paper and other materials;*
3. *the economics of literacy and the history of technological revolutions and their impact on the spread of literacy;*

4. *the history of libraries, scriptoria and archival collections;*
5. *the history of schools and higher education colleges;*
6. *the history of professionalism in higher education (philosophical, rhetorical, legal, scientific and artistic);*
7. *the variety of school curricula and pedagogical innovations;*
8. *the history of the ancient and medieval academic Scholastic methods of teaching and learning in Palestine, with their emphasis on logical argument and counter-argument, logical judgement and logical techniques;*
9. *the history of book making, book selling and book markets;*
10. *the Arabic translation movements and revolutions in Palestine and Iraq: the transcribing movements across languages: Greek, Syriac and Arabic;*
11. *the history of public, transnational and cross-cultural education;*
12. *the interaction between linguistic, visual, emotional and musical literacies in Palestine; and*
13. *the history of hymnography and musical literacy in Palestine.*

Functional, Linguistic and Visual Literacies: Ancient Scribal Schools

The invention of photography in the early nineteenth century and the digital revolution of the late twentieth century added new dimensions to the long-existing visual literacy and visual history. There is an English saying that 'a picture is worth a thousand words' – namely, that multiple ideas can sometimes be represented by a single image, which can convey multiple meanings more powerfully than a mere spoken or written word – however, images and visual literacy (and storytelling images) and linguistic literacy (and generally writing and language) are representations of reality, not the reality itself. Images, visual representations and visual literacy long preceded linguistic literacy and, for many centuries, before and after the emergence of modern mass literacy in Palestine, the historic churches and monasteries of Palestine communicated with ordinary people through visual literacy and representations of abstract and concrete ideas through powerful images. In eighth-century Palestine one of the great defenders of visual literacy and representations through religious icons and cultural images was Yahya Mansur al-Dimashqi (John of Damascus) (*c.* 675–749) of the Palestinian monastery Mar Saba. In fact, cave drawings and animal representations, as a form of cultural and intellectual abstraction and visual representations of abstract ideas through images, were practised in Asia and Europe from 40,000 BC onwards. Yet the early stages of literacy in the ancient Middle East began with earlier writing systems that appeared first in Mesopotamia, beginning with the third millennium BC. While in the modern world linguistic literacy is taken for granted, this was not the case in ancient Iraq in which literacy was 'functional' and most of the writing was done by professional scribes (Finkel and Taylor 2015: 32). Being largely done

by professional scribes, and confined to narrow literate classes and serving existing social practices, functional literacy tended to advantage the interests of powerful social classes and disadvantage the interests of illiterate members of society. New forms of 'functional literacy' continued to develop and for centuries a privileged class of professional scribal monks flourished in the Orthodox Christian 'desert monasteries' of late antiquity and medieval (Islamic) Palestine. While Orthodox Christianity sought to reconcile two contributors to knowledge – natural reason and revelation – throughout early Islam the monasteries of Palestine and Syria became repositories of knowledge and literature production, and major centres of scribalism and intellectual debates.

This work on the cultural and intellectual histories of Palestine, furthermore, explores the historical evolution of a range of cultural literacies: functional, linguistic, visual, emotional, elementary, popular and high forms of literacy. The work argues that the historical evolution and contemporary usages of 'linguistic' literacy and the 'visual' and 'emotional' skills of representations should be seen as complementary; the 'visual' culture of literacy is based on the idea that shapes, images, drawings and pictures can be 'read' and interpreted, and this ability to read and make sense of information represented in the form of shapes and images can produce 'knowledge' and meaning through this process of visual reading (Avgerinou and Ericson 1997: 280–91; Eddy 2013: 215–45; Elkins 2010). Crucially, shapes, symbols and images went hand in hand with literacy in the cuneiform writing of ancient Mesopotamia, the production of manuscripts in the Palestinian Christian monasteries of the Middle Ages and Arabic calligraphy. The shapes and patterns described in the West as *Arabesque* (an Orientalist conception of Islamic art) were highly stylized forms of combined visual-linguistic literacy.

Visually impaired and blind students at the Christian School of Alexandria, founded in the second century AD, were already using shapes and wood-carving techniques to read and write; the same technique of using shapes to teach visually impaired students was brought to Palestine and used at Origen's advanced school in Caesarea-Palaestina, the city then known as Caesarea-Maritima and *Metropolis Palaestinae*, the capital of Byzantine Palestine. Also, taught in professional scribal schools, with an emphasis on memory and training the senses, the cuneiform writing of Mesopotamia consisted of shapes and 'wedge-shaped strokes incised on clay tablets' (Roper 2017: Intro.). Cuneiform itself simply means 'wedge-shaped' and cuneiform writings in ancient Iraq (Palestine and the wider region), initially with a limited number of shapes and signs, came to function both phonetically (representing a sound) and semantically (representing an object or concept). Today, multiple disciplines including education, art history, philosophy, literature, semiotics and graphic design make extensive use of the combination of the linguistic and visual cultures of literacies. Walid Khalidi's work *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876–1948* (1984) illustrates the emergence of indigenous Palestinian photographic literacy in the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.

In fact, the fledgling photographic technology and its arrival in Palestine in the nineteenth century had coincided with the arrival of the Protestant missionary Arabic printing press to the Near East via Malta and the flood of missionary schools in Palestine. The missionary American Press in Arabic was founded in Malta in 1822 and shifted to Beirut in 1834 (Orne 1894: 282). This move was accompanied by the opening of the first Protestant missionary school for girls in Beirut in the same year. An expressive system of colportage and the distribution of publications, books, newspapers, maps and religious tracts began to spread across the urban Near East from Aleppo to Jerusalem and Jaffa (Cragg 1991: 133; Vander Werff 1977: 119–20). By the early 1890s the emergence of profitable print capitalism can be seen in the fact that there were a dozen or more printing presses and publishing houses just in Beirut, contributing significantly to the spread of this new printing revolution and readership in the Near East. These presses printed Arabic books, newspapers, maps, cards and wrapping paper, and some of these printing presses became large publishing houses distributing classical Arabic works and translations from European languages – with 'millions of pages of Arabic literature published annually'; the printing presses were under the management of Protestant and Catholic missions, of the Ottoman government and of enterprising private individuals (Orne 1894: 281–97). Moreover, the complementarity and combination of 'visual literacy' with the Arabic printing press can be seen in the introduction of new modern forms of representation through the multiple uses of modern photography, photojournalism and photobooks, powerfully combining pictures with the Arabic printing press, printed Arabic books and newspapers in Palestine. This complimentarity was central to the way mass literacy evolved and began expanding in modern Palestine. More recently, digital literacy and the electronic revolution (which means much of what is written and read has been conveyed electronically) have added further dimensions to the combination of visual literacy and photographic literacy with digital books and remote learning.

Moreover, this book is not about literacy and numeracy in the narrow sense. The work applies the concept of 'multi-learning', which includes 'learning with'; 'learning from'; 'self-learning'; lifelong learning; interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary learning; a contrapuntal, dialogical and dialectical search for the truth; and empirical scientific discoveries. It also discusses a range of literacies and forms of communication and representation (both elementary and higher level), including multiliteracies (emotional and visual intelligences), and shows how poetry – and poetic literacy and hymnography (hymn writing and performing) – music and aural-oral traditions were central to learning practices in Palestine. Today, emotional skills of literacy are understood to include the ability to express one's emotions creatively and artistically and to empathize with others in a way that enhances living and social cooperation (Steiner and Perry 1997). Conceived within this wide frame of literacies and intelligences, this work also charts the educational and intellectual histories of Palestine across millennia. Today, the notion that education and learning are forms of capital and social

formation as well as the locus of political, moral and intellectual empowerment is widely acknowledged. Contrary to the widely held perception that linguistic literacy and textual education in Palestine are 'modern' phenomena, this work shows how school learning was central to both ancient Palestine (Arabic: *Filastin*) and modern Palestinian Arab life since the late Ottoman period, and that it has remained crucial to Palestinian survival and social mobility since the 1948 Nakba (catastrophe).

Today, education remains vital for the survival of the Palestinians; with nearly half of all Palestinians living in exile (and not allowed by Israel to return to their homeland) and with nearly half of the Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip under the age of fifteen, it is hardly surprising that half of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are in the general or higher educational system, either as pupils, students or teachers (Alshwaikh 2014). Also today the relationships between capital formation, schooling, 'knowledges', self-empowerment and social mobility are widely acknowledged. Historically, scribalism and the ability to read and write were powerful tools for social organization, social mobility, change and development. Today, modern dynamic mass literacy and numeracy and multiliteracies in the broader sense are critical for the opening up of choices, self-empowerment and transformation. This approach to education includes the ability to use language and numbers to interpret knowledge, and to use effectively symbols of diverse cultures. Establishing literacy rates in the multilingual and multicultural environment of ancient Palestine is not an easy thing. Yet, clearly literacy and numeracy and education generally (schools, seminaries, colleges and universities) have served as powerful vehicles of social mobility and political change in Palestine for millennia.

The history and cultural identity of Palestine are multilayered and complex (Masalha 2018: Intro.), and this work argues against the fabrication of a neat and useful past. First documented in the late Bronze Age, the name *Palestine* (Greek: *Παλαιστίνη*; Arabic: *Filastin*) is the conventional name used between 450 BC and AD 1948 to describe a country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and various adjoining lands. The name Palestine is found in numerous and diverse sources for the ancient world and throughout the last 3,300 years. It was used by the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, classical Greek writers, Romans, Christian Byzantines and medieval Arabs. The toponym Palestine is also evident in countless inscriptions, histories, 'world maps', ecclesiastical histories, chronicles, letters, coins and encyclopaedias from classical and late antiquity, medieval and modern Palestine. For a millennium and a half of classical antiquity as well as under Islam in the Middle Ages the term Palestine acquired official administrative status (Masalha 2018). My work *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (2018) explored the evolution of the concept, histories, identity and languages of Palestine from the late Bronze Age to the modern era. However, while my 2018 book was an overall introduction to the rich and complex histories of the country, this work brings the issue of the cultural and educational histories of Palestine into sharp focus and

within a contextualized framework, while at the same time exploring the history of learning practices in the country, within their evolving social environments and material structures, across millennia.

Territorially based consciousness of Muslim-majority Palestine as a distinct Arab region/country (*bilad*), with Arabic and Islam being key markers of identity, is evident in the works of indigenous Palestinian Muslim scholars such as al-Maqdisi in the tenth century (al-Maqdisi 1866, 1994, 2002); Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi (1456–1522), Khair al-Din al-Ramli (1585–1671) and Salih ibn Ahmad al-Tumurtashi (d. *c*. 1715) in the period between the tenth and late seventeenth centuries; and Yusuf Jahshan – a Palestinian priest – in the eighteenth century. The territorially based multifaceted regional identity articulated by Palestinian Muslim authors was partly derived from the cultural and religious heritage of the early Arab-Islamic province of Palestine (*Jund Filastin*), an administrative province which existed for several centuries in the Middle Ages. Although teaching and learning about Palestine has been a source of anxiety for Zionists, much of the millennia of history of learning in Palestine have nothing whatsoever to do with the Palestinian–Zionist conflict, which in historical terms is a relatively recent development of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Codex Traditions Versus Oral Performances: The Written Cultures and Public Performances in Palestine and the Arab World

The Arabs had rich written culture before Islam. Both Arab urban and Bedouin societies throughout Arabia and neighbouring regions knew how to write, and tens of thousands of Arabic inscriptions and literary texts have been found dating back to the period between the first millennium BC and the emergence of Islam in the early seventh century. These inscriptions were written on tablets, rocks, bronze, gold, papyrus and stems of palm leaves and this rich literary heritage of the Arabs is seen today as a context for the ancient linguistic roots of the Quran (Munir 2021).

However, Muslims believe that the Quran was *orally* revealed by God to the Prophet Muhammad and the Quran begins with the word 'read' (*iqraa*) with recitation and learning being the gateway for intellectual development and spiritual growth in Islam. Modern scholarship on literacy in the Arab world is often constructed in binary, dichotomous terms of *literacy* versus *orality* and (mass) pre-modern *illiteracy* versus (mass) modern *literacy*, but before the advent of the modern era the Arabic-Islamic societies, with their powerful *oral* traditions, were not totally illiterate societies. *Orality-aurality* should not be conflated automatically with *illiteracy*; for many centuries Palestine combined both written literary (codex)

and oral cultures, and even today, Palestine, like many countries in the Arab world which have achieved mass literacy of 95 per cent, has very powerful oral cultures and storytelling traditions. In the societies of the Arab world, popular oral performance culture and cultural memories were often combined with traditions of popular and high literary culture and this combination was transmitted widely through the common public and private reciting of the Quran and of classical and medieval Arabic poetry. Moreover the interface between the *written* and the *aural*/*oral* and the historical evolution of written linguistic literacy cannot be totally divorced from the evolution of performance literacy; the publication of poetry and works of literature and history in the classical (Hellenistic) world and in late antiquity in Palestine – as well as in the pre-Islamic Arab Near East – meant that authors such as Herodotus, who would later become famously identified with his book *The Histories*, would make their researches known to the larger world through recitations to a public crowd, works which could be labelled as 'performance pieces' (Marincola 2003: xii and Intro.).

Oral performance and rhetorical public performance of the text, combining written (codex) literary works, public storytelling, public speeches, rhetorical devices and the classical dialectical method of searching for the truth, were all designed to teach students and to move and entertain audiences. These methods flourished in the rhetorical School of Gaza and other similar schools in urban Palestine during the Byzantine era, and the classical education of these rhetorical schools, which provided a 'liberal education' and trained students in the arts of professional education and civic duties, dominated the advanced educational system of Byzantine Palestine from the fourth to early seventh century.

Public performance – together with oral recitation of the text – and public storytelling flourished under Islam and within the context of classical Arabic poetry, and can also be seen in the intimate connection between written (codex) literacy, *kitab* (book), and rhetorical performance literacy (Quran) in medieval Islam; and multiliteracies (both written documents and oral recitation) had their parallels in the intimate connection between the scribal monks, monasteries and scriptures (religious texts; Latin: *scriptura*, 'a writing') in Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine. Moreover, writing in medieval Islamic Palestine was used largely, though by no means exclusively, by the urban educated classes and socioeconomic, political and religious intellectual elites. However, without mass literacy until the modern period, the Palestinians built up a strong oral culture and storytelling traditions which can still be seen in Palestinian poetry and almost every aspect of Palestinian life. Yet, even though mass literacy in Palestine, as in all countries, is a modern phenomenon, pre-modern Palestinian society was not completely illiterate. On the contrary: schools, colleges and seminaries had existed in Palestine for millennia. Before Islam the Arabs preserved their oral histories, culture, genealogies and poetry largely by public storytelling and the holding of seasonal poetry reading and cultural (performance) markets – literary festivals which continued into classical Islam.

But the advent of the Arab papermaking revolution from the mid-eighth century onwards; the construction of the Arab paper mill industry in the Levant (Hallaq 1986: 11; Tadmuri 1973: 23), Palestine included, especially under the Ayyubids and Mamluks; the widespread trade in high-quality paper in Damascus, Nablus, Jerusalem, Gaza and al-Ramla – the administrative capital of the Arab province of Palestine throughout early Islam: all played a major role in the significant expansion of Arabic literacy learning and the book industry in Palestine and the wider Middle East during the Middle Ages.

In Byzantine Palestine Greek was the language of literature and formal higher education and Gaza boasted the then most influential Greek-language rhetorical school in the world, a rhetorical school that taught verbal rhetorical literacy as a fundamental part of making intellectual, philosophical and legal arguments. Centuries later under classical Islam, Arabic rhetoric (*balagha*) became an important part of classical Arabic literature and the rhetorical Quran involved oral communication and performance. One of the most outstanding writers of Arabic literature during the Abbasid era was al-Jaḥiz (*c.* 776–869). He was educated at *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad, frequented the Marbad literary festival near Basra and was influenced by Aristotelian philosophy. Writing his pioneering 'Book of Clarity and Clarification' (*Kitab al-Bayan wa al-Tabyin*) on the art of Arabic rhetoric at a time when polished and easy-to-use paper had replaced parchment, he maintains that intellectual arguments depend on rhetorical and verbal skills, and that tradition makes a clear distinction between the written document (codex) and the oral performance (speech; verbal interpretation) of texts, and provides a technical distinction between both texts: in Arabic the term *mushaf* means the written text (codex) of the Quran, while the term *quran* itself denotes oral performance and oral interpretations of the text (Al-Jaḥiẓ 1959; Neuwirth 2012). But unlike critical Western scholarship on the performance aspects of Herodotus' *The Histories*, Orientalist scholarship on Islam and the Quran, with its obsession with the codex aspects of the text, has largely ignored the oral performance of Quranic literacy. This oral performance of the Quran was an important feature of the curriculum of the advanced Islamic colleges of Mamluk Jerusalem – colleges that permanently employed Quranic readers/performers. Moreover, Arabic grammar and poetry and the movement from a predominantly aural culture and (storytelling) oral traditions to a more literate Arabic setting and book culture were hugely influenced by the spread of Hellenistic Christianity (a syncretic tradition) and later by the rise of Islam and what Islam termed the 'People of the Book' (*Ahl al-Kitab*). The Arabic words for book are *kitab* and *sifr* (plural *asfar*), the latter from Aramaic/Syriac ܣܦܪܐ (*sepra*), for 'writing', 'book' and 'storytelling', a term used in Arabic for the various books (stories; fiction) of the Old Testament. Since Islam saw itself (as well as Judaism and Christianity) as 'a people of the book' and a written religion – which preserved Islam as a universalistic creed (Goody 1993: 132–3) – we would expect a very high literacy rate among Muslims throughout the Middle Ages; yet this was not always

the case – mass literacy in the Arab and Islamic world and globally is a distinctly modern phenomenon. In fact, the movement from oral traditions to linguistic literacy was always gradual at least until modern mass literacy. However, some literacy and written culture was promoted by the Arab elites and Christian Arab royal courts of the pre-Islamic Ghassanid tribal kings (*phylarchs*) of Palestine. These courts generously patronized the arts, especially Arabic performance poetry and poetic literacy (Masalha 2018: 135–50).

The movement to Quranic and Arabic literacy under Islam, together with the important tradition of memorization of epics and classic Arabic poetry, continued to flourish with the spread of Islam. This was accompanied by the reading and memorization (*hifz*) of the holy Quran (Arabic: 'act of reading or reciting') as a means of spreading literacy and classical Arabic. *Hafiz*, or the female equivalent *hafiza*, literally means 'guardian' or memorizer of the Quran, and the first Islamic schools, which began in the seventh century, taught Arabic literacy with one of the key aims of memorizing (*hifz*) the Quran and the oral performance of its text.

The Arabization of the administration of the Islamic Empire, especially during the linguistic reforms of the Umayyad (Marwanid) Caliphs, was another crucial factor in the spread of Arabic literacy. Literary Arabic became the lingua franca and the language of learning, education and sciences of a vast empire extending from Spain in the West to central Asia in the East.

Educational institutionalization has evolved phenomenally since the Middle Ages, as have the Arabic terms for learning and education; at the height of classical Islam in the Middle Ages, the terms *maktab* and *kuttab* were generally used for elementary schools, while the term *madrasa* was often used for higher educational institutions and colleges; today the term *madrasa* applies to elementary, preparatory and secondary schools, while the terms *kulliya* and *jami'a* are used for higher educational colleges and universities. Also, during classical Islam (and in Palestine) the term for library was *khizanat al-kutub*, while today the term is *maktaba*. However, under classical Islam and into the modern period the Arabic term *madrasa* applied to a wide range of educational institutions and pedagogical levels from primary schooling to higher education; in Palestine these Islamic institutions included elementary schools, seminaries and advanced colleges. The processes of institutionalization and academization of the advanced Islamic *madrasas* (colleges) took place during the period AD 1060–1500 (Hefner 2009). Crucially, colleges were founded as *waqf* (charitable) endowments, whose *waqf* properties included markets, shops, caravanserais and public baths, and sometimes agricultural lands of entire villages were endowed for these institutions to cover their maintenance, staff salaries and operating expenses.

Under Islam in Palestine, education went through a radical transformation during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras (1187–1517). During this long period, medieval Cairo (Fustat) eclipsed Baghdad as a key centre of Islamic higher education, and, together with Jerusalem and Damascus, it emerged as a premier centre of Islamic sciences. Under the Mamluks the colleges of medieval Cairo

attracted the distinguished fourteenth-century Arab historian and jurist Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) – the epitome of the Muslim *academic/scholar-judge*, who, enjoying Mamluk state patronage, was appointed in 1382, two years after moving to Egypt, as a professor (*mudarris*) of Islamic jurisprudence and headteacher (*shaykh*) of the Qamhiyya Madrasa in Cairo. He also became a chief judge (*qadi*) in Egypt. In Ibn Khaldun's words:

> The Quran became the basis of instruction, the foundation for all the habits acquired later on. The reason for this is that the things one is taught for one's youth take root more deeply.
>
> (quoted in Meijer 2009: 63)

Before Islam, the Arabs of Byzantine *Provincia Palaestina* and former Roman *Provincia Arabia*, with their predominantly oral cultures and storytelling traditions in poetry, were influenced by the literary life of the Arabs in the fifth and sixth centuries, and by the tradition of memorization of classic Arabic poetry by poets, storytellers (*rawis*) and ordinary people. The historical importance of Arabic in Palestine (*Filastin*) is shown in the hundreds of Palestine Arabic inscriptions which cover a huge variety of topics and institutions: schools, architectural structures, Islamic charitable endowments (*waqfs*), epitaphs, mosques, public fountains, construction, markets, public baths, dedications, Quranic texts, prayers and invocations. A large collection of the inscriptions is assembled in the multivolume *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestina* (Sharon 1997–2013; van Berchem 1894). The Quran, recited by the Prophet Muhammad in Arabic, refers to itself as a *kitab*, or book, in one verse. However, Islam has always been a multinational religion. As a founder of a 'religion of the book', the Arabian Prophet Muhammad gave many privileges to 'People of the Book' (*Ahl al-Kitab*): Zoroastrians, Sabaeans, Jews, Christians. Enriched by cultural cross-fertilization, classical Islam embraced and adapted the classical traditions of learning and developed its own strong and distinct tradition of bibliophilia and cultural synthesis: of manuscript production, book writing, and the translation and transcription of a variety of knowledges from Syriac, Greek, Persian and Sanskrit into Arabic. Under Islam, Arabic calligraphy also flourished, and the construction of grand libraries of books and manuscript collections – which became important international centres of knowledge production – reached new heights. While too many authors saw much structure and uniformity in Islamic legal studies in the Middle Ages, the Islamic medievalist views of religious, legal and educational pluralism in fact led Islam to develop legal pluralism within Islamic jurisprudence (Palestinian fiqh pluralism included) and to recognize formally the religious and educational autonomy of four monotheistic religious traditions – Zoroastrianism, Sabaeanism, Christianity and Judaism – and to accord them the status of self-instituted, autonomous and protected communities (*dhimis*); Samaritanism in Palestine was treated as a 'type' of Judaism and given the same status as an autonomous, protected community (al-Maqdisi 2002: 40).

The Material Culture of Literacy: Writing Material, Technological Revolutions and Paper Mills

From Clay Tablets, to Papyri and Parchment, to Papermaking, to the Arabic Printing Press, to Digital Writing

'Necessity is the mother of invention.' Technological inventions and revolutions were not confined to the modern Industrial Revolution. Historically, technological revolutions transformed writing, literacy and learning practices – ancient, medieval and modern – revolutions that, in some ways, were closely related. The ancient history of scribalism – transcribing, writing, learning and producing books – begins with the development of writing through technological revolutions starting with clay tablets, scrolls and sheets of papyrus. Subsequently, papermaking produced a revolution in written correspondence, book making, book circulation and the transmission of knowledge. Before Europe began to produce its own paper, two papermaking economies dominated the world from about AD 800 to 1250: Asia (primarily China) and the Islamic world, with numerous paper mills from Baghdad to Samarkand, from Damascus to Nablus and Jerusalem, and from Cairo to Cordoba – a technological revolution that followed the new inventions and importation from China into the Middle East (in the second half of the eighth century). In Palestine a documented paper mill (as well as a famous soap factory) operated in Nablus during the Mamluk period (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29; Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 34). The Arabic term *al-maʾsar* was used widely in Palestine to mean olive press, wine-press and 'paper press' (paper mills) (Burns 1985: 164). Historically, presses for olives and wine had been common across Palestine, and the town of Beisan boasted four mills during the Mamluk period (Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 34). The modern 'printing press' term, however, which subsequently entered European languages in connection with the Gutenberg printing revolution, refers to a mechanical device for applying pressure to an inked surface resting upon a print medium, such as paper. The impact of this early modern European printing revolution on Arabic printing and mass literacy in the Near East was only felt from the mid- to late nineteenth century onwards. Back in the Middle Ages under classical Islam, following the equally important Arab 'paper presses' technological revolution of the eighth century AD, papermaking processes were refined and further developed with the paper being polished and the material made smooth and easy to write on; commercially and economically the Islamic paper mills and book industries became profitable.

This medieval Arab papermaking industrial revolution transformed the economics of literacy under classical Islam and enabled the fast and mass production of paper documents and paper books to replace the more expensive parchment

and the relatively slow production of parchment manuscripts, but this revolution was also accompanied by a linguistic transformation of Arabic literature in which the ancient Arabic term for book, *mushaf* – the word for a codex or collection of parchment sheets – was generally replaced by the term *kitab*, although the Arabic term for the Quran as a codex remained in universal use.

None of these Arab and Islamic technological and intellectual revolutions associated with writing and the spread of education, literacy and sciences can be attributed to the modern 'nationalist' paradigm of education. The literature on modern cultural nationalism and education in the Middle East during the late Ottoman, colonial and postcolonial eras is vast and beyond the scope of this study.[2] Going beyond the limitations of the 'nationalist' paradigm of education, this work shows that across millennia the great urban centres of Palestine, the ancient Middle East and the Mediterranean region as a whole – from Athens to Alexandria, to Gaza and Caesarea-Maritima and Berytos (Beirut) and Cairo and Baghdad and Jerusalem – had highly sophisticated transitional and international approaches to education and learning. The geocultural location of Palestine as a crossroads of cultures and faiths; a transit country for people, international trade and intellectual exchange of ideas and technologies of writing and communication; and a transport route with transnational highways that straddle the country linking three different continents (Masalha 2018: 68–9), aided the evolution of the transnational, cross-cultural and multicultural dimensions of education in the country. Inevitably, the transnational environment and international dimensions of learning in Palestine were encouraged by the country's multilingual culture, which was evident in some of its 'golden ages' of learning. Applying international and transnational (cross-fertilization) paradigms to the evolution of education in Palestine, this work shows how the major centres of learning in Palestine, and the general development of education in the country, interacted closely with cultural and international technological advances and with the great centres of learning in the region: Sumer (ancient Iraq), Athens, Alexandria, Beirut, Damascus and Cairo (the Azhar college). International technological revolutions (ancient, medieval and modern), in particular paper production and circulation from the second half of the eighth century onwards, have transformed learning and literary cultural production in the Arab and Islamic worlds, in general, and in Palestine in particular.

In addition to the Sumerian clay tablets of ancient Iraq and the Near East, among the oldest surviving handwritten documents were some made of wooden tablets and *ostraca* (*ὄστρακα*), pieces of pottery usually broken off from a vessel before the writing was added. However, unlike wooden tablets and *ostraca*, papyrus and parchment produced far more permanent records and longer texts and documents (Hezser 2001: 131). In Arabic, *mushaf* refers to a volume bound between two covers or a codex consisting of parchment leaves; as a term it is generally used in reference to a copy of the Quran. Also, in the Muslim scholarship of the Middle Ages the term *mushaf* was used for the Quranic text as a codex – in contradistinction to the

oral performances of the text (the Quran) (Neuwirth 2012). Under Islam the Arab-Jews of Tiberias and elsewhere in Palestine referred to copies of the Old Testament as *mushaf*. The earliest texts of the Quran were written on parchment and one of the oldest texts of the Quran in the world, written on leaves of parchment, was possibly made within the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (found in the Middle Eastern manuscripts collection of the Cadbury Research Library, at the University of Birmingham), radiocarbon-dated to between AD 568 and 645, a result regarded by the scientists who tested it at Oxford University as near certain – 95.4 per cent accurate. The Quranic parchment came to the Birmingham library with a mass of other early Middle Eastern manuscripts collected in the 1920s by the theologian, historian and (Syriac) Chaldean priest Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937; Kennedy 2015), a Chaldean researcher from what is now known as northern Iraq and who was best known for collecting and preserving ancient Middle Eastern manuscripts. The Mingana Collection of Middle Eastern manuscripts at Birmingham University comprises over 3,000 documents.

There were six distinct technological revolutions with far-reaching consequences for literacy and teaching and learning in Iraq, Palestine and the wider region.

1. *Clay tablet writings*: the earliest Sumerian cuneiform writing, consisting of wedge-shaped strokes incised on clay tablets, which led to the construction of cuneiform 'tablet houses', the oldest forms of libraries in the ancient world, which have been excavated by archaeologists in Iraq (ancient Mesopotamia), Palestine and other parts of the ancient Near East.
2. *Papyrus texts*: papyrus (plural: papyri), a material similar to thick paper, was widely used in ancient times as a writing surface. Manufactured from the papyrus plant, which was abundant across the Nile Delta of Egypt and also found in Palestine near Lake Tiberias, papyrus was transported and used throughout the Mediterranean region:

> The presence of the papyrus plant near Lake Tiberias in Palestine was recorded in the fourth century B.C. by Theophrastus [the 'father of botany' and successor to Aristotle as the head of the Lyceum Peripatetic school of Athens] and is perhaps to be deduced for the fourth and fifth century A.D. from a superb mosaic of fauna and flora found at Tabgha… on the lake's north shore. It is still found a little further north, in the Huleh marches of the Jordan river.
>
> (Hezser 2001: 131)

Texts written on papyri were joined together into a scroll, an early form of a book. Papyrus letters and documents, discovered in archaeological excavations in southern Palestine, show that papyrus writings continued into early Islam in Palestine and Umayyad Palestine.

3. *Parchment texts:* papyrus writing materials in Palestine were often manufactured for official use, but they were also used by ordinary people (Hezser 2001: 131). Many manuscripts produced during the

Palestine Byzantine period and throughout early Islam – at least until the Muslim Abbasid 'Papermaking Revolution' from the mid-eighth century onwards (Heilo 2016: 114–15) – were written on parchment (primarily manufactured from calf and sheep skins). The use of parchment in government administration and bureaucracies and as a medium for a powerful religious organization and book production was significant under the Romans and Byzantines (Innis 1995).

The majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls (the 'Qumran library') – the remnants of the important ancient Jewish (and non-Jewish) religious manuscripts found in the Qumran caves on the northern shore of the Dead Sea in Palestine, dating from the last two centuries BC and the first century AD, and containing the oldest written record of the Old Testament – with documents in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek (Mansoor 1964), were written on parchment, some on papyrus (and one on copper), 'both of which are extremely fragile and brittle and which age and darken over time' (McCarthy 2008). Most of the Dead Sea parchment texts were written in Hebrew, but many in Aramaic and Greek, with some papyri in Arabic (mostly from the seventh and eighth centuries) and a small number of Latin fragments (Vermes 1977: 15; The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library 2021).

Both *Codex Sinaiticus*, a fourth-century handwritten copy of the Greek Bible, discovered at Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, and Palestinian manuscripts in the library of the monastery of Mar Saba, near Jerusalem, the most famous and foremost of all monasteries of Palestine, which was renowned for its ascetical and literary activities, were produced on, mostly, parchment. However, both papyrus and parchment materials, which were discovered in large quantities in the early Middle Ages at the library of the monastery of Mar Saba and the (lost and discovered) neighbouring library of the monastery of Marda, to the east of Jerusalem (Khirbet al-Mird; Kastellion), written in three languages (Greek, Arabic and Syriac), were relatively limited in ancient Palestine and seem to have been too expensive for ordinary people to write occasional notes (Hezser 2001: 131; Mansoor 1964: 39).

Furthermore, writing on papyrus, although it existed in ancient Palestine, was largely dominated by the ancient Egyptians; writing on papyrus was easier and quicker than writing on parchment made of skins of animals – primarily sheep, calves and goats – that was scraped and dried under tension and was used in Palestine, the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean as a writing medium for over two and a half millennia. Herodotus, in *Histories*, mentions writing on skins (instead of papyrus), specifically, *diphtherai* (Grey 2007: 212), a term used by Hellenized Jewish scribes to describe scrolls (Meir Bar Ilan 1995), which was also adapted in medieval (and modern) Arabic for 'notebooks'. Unlike the easily perishable papyrus, parchment as a writing material, for ancient manuscripts, has survived in the libraries of the Palestinian monasteries of Mar Saba and the Syriac Orthodox monastery of Saint Mark in Jerusalem.

4. *Papermaking and paper books and documents*: technological advances in the papermaking revolution under the Baghdad-based Muslim Abbasid caliphs from the mid-eighth century onwards made the production of, and trade in, paper widespread in the urban centres of the Near East (Palestine included), especially in the ninth to eleventh centuries. The new papermaking and book industries under Islam, which replaced the smaller industries of processing papyrus leaves and animal skins for writing materials, allowed for the employment of a large number of people and the expansion of the communication system and postal service (*barid*), a key medium of classical Islam; these industries also increased socioeconomic mobility, literary production, administrative and legal recording and the phenomenal construction of what became known as Islamic *sijills* (records) under the Abbasids, Fatimids, Ayyubids, Mamluks and Ottomans, the greatest part of which are the Sharia Court *sijjils* of Jerusalem. Crucially, the earliest surviving Arabic texts written on paper were discovered in 1952 at Wadi Murabba'at in the Dead Sea region of Palestine, dating to the tenth century AD (The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library 2021) – and close to the Palestinian monasteries of Mar Saba and Marda, which were key centres in the production of texts and of Arabic literary works and Christian Arabic learning in Palestine during this period. Also, from the records of traders in the Arabo-Jewish Genizah of medieval Cairo dated 1052–58, there is clear evidence of a 'widespread trade' in paper in the cities of *Bilad al-Sham* (Syria, Palestine and Lebanon) including Damascus, Tripoli, Jerusalem and al-Ramla (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29) – the latter being then the capital of the Arab province of Palestine; evidently a great deal of the enormous quantities of paper manufactured in the urban centres of Syria and Palestine by the mid-eleventh century was exported to Egypt, whose poor-quality paper was not sufficient to meet the demand of the government at the time. Also, high-quality paper produced in Syria and Palestine was exported to Byzantine territories; and the same high-quality paper was also available during the 'golden age' of the Palestinian Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem. Also, a Mamluk inscription from 1296 found in Jerusalem refers to a papermaking factory in Nablus (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29; Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 34).
5. *From the European printing press to the Arabic printing press in Palestine*: the advent of the European printing press – and subsequently the *Arabic printing press* in the nineteenth century – and the arrival of print capitalism (combined with the early Palestinian newspapers, photography and photojournalism) into late Ottoman Palestine became a major source of widely communicating innovative and radical ideas.
6. *Digital literacy, digital books and the audiovisual electronic revolutions of recent years*: the digital writing and learning revolutions – which took place in the period between the writing of my doctoral thesis on modern Iraq (ancient Mesopotamia, the birthplace of linguistic literacy) at London University in the mid-1980s and now, which has had an impact on the

writing of my own books in recent years – although beyond the scope of this study, have created new forms of distance learning, with the global Covid-19 pandemic and lockdowns of 2020–21 having had a significant impact on remote learning.

However, it was not capitalism per se that created the 'beginnings' of the educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory period (1918–48): it was outward-looking cosmopolitan education and the dramatic improvement in healthcare, sanitation and the establishment of many modern hospitals and clinics, which resulted in a dramatic rise in life expectancy in the country, combined with the rise of modern school systems, which were central to this modern mass literacy and education revolution.

Intellectual Elites and Multilingual Environments: Byzantine and Early Islamic Palestine

The Papyrus Archives of Petra, Nessana, Marda and Mar Saba (Sixth to Eighth Centuries AD)

Papyrus writing is famously associated with Egypt, but outside Egypt the most important discoveries of papyrus writing and preserved papyrus archives were in Palestine. The Zenon archive is an important group of ancient papyri texts in literary Koine Greek – which continued to be used in Palestine into the early Byzantine period and was used by many Christian monks and authors – discovered in the 1900s in Faiyum (Egypt), and it is one of the earliest records of life in both Egypt and Palestine under the rule of the Hellenistic Ptolemies in the mid-third century BC. This papyri archive, collected and retained by Zenon, a private secretary to the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, contains a large variety of documents with information on trade relations between Egypt and Palestine as well as local administrative, cultural and economic aspects of life in Hellenistic Palestine and its major cities: Gaza, Jerusalem, Joppa (Jaffa) and the towns of the Nabatean Arabs in the Naqab; the documents also shed light on the trade in slaves and merchandise between Gaza and Egypt. The Zenon papyri show that (1) local Jewish figures in Jerusalem exercised considerable autonomy in the city (Grabbe 2008: 52); (2) the Greek language was central in the local administration and schools; and (3) the culture of fourth- to third-century Palestine was deeply polytheistic – a polytheism which applied to all social and religious groups in Palestine including Judaeans, Samaritans, Galileans, Edomites and Nabatean Arabs.

Literary and popularly spoken Koine Greek remained central to the administration in Palestine for centuries during the Roman and early Byzantine periods; it was the standard for educated Near Eastern urban elites in Aelia

Capitolina (Jerusalem), Neapolis (Nablus), Bostra, Philadelphia (Amman) and Damascus, Gaza, Caesarea-Maritima and Petra in the sixth century; it was spoken alongside Syriac (a dialect of Aramaic) by the majority of Palestinian peasantry; and collections of papyri documents discovered in several parts of southern Palestine show that educated elite families were trilingual in Greek, Aramaic and Arabic. Also, in the third to early seventh centuries, Ghassanite Arabic-speaking communities lived in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria. In 1993 the Petra papyrus archives were discovered; they consisted of letters by an Arabic-speaking elite family written in Greek and date from the sixth century (537–93) in the then capital of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Salutaris (Palaestina Tertia) and previously the capital of the old Nabatean Arab kingdom. Some 140 carbonized papyrus rolls were found in a room adjacent to a Byzantine church excavated in Petra, some of which were preserved in interpretable texts. The trove contains the private papers, legal documents and property transactions of several generations of a family, at the centre of which is Theodoros son of Obodianos, who served as a deacon at the Byzantine church. The documents cover private matters such as marriages, inheritances and sales, as well as public legal matters, including property disputes and tax records (Frösén, Arjava and Lehtinen 2002; Gonis 2005: 655–57; Cole 2020). The Petra papyri also provide evidence for the social life of the elite families of Petra, with some 350 individuals from this group being named in the documents (Frösén, Arjava and Lehtinen 2002: 10).

Papyrological evidence on regional linguistic features in Palestine and for elite families was not unique to Petra. However, while the Petra papyri 'archive' was in Greek, other papyri 'archives' discovered in Palestine of the seventh to eighth centuries were in Greek, Arabic and Syriac. Private letters, texts and documents written on more than 600 papyri sheets and preserved in papyri archives (with some Arabic papyrus documents dating to Umayyad Palestine in AD 672–89) were also discovered in 1936 in the Naqab (southern Palestine), showing not only bilingualism or diglossia – the use of two languages or two dialects by a single language community – but also multilingualism (Latin and Greek included) in Byzantine Nessana. The native language of Nessana was Arabic, while Greek was the standard language of education; the Greek papyri documents of Nessana also included official Byzantine letters, documents and private wills as well as fragmentary text from Virgil's work and a Latin-Greek glossary of his *Aeneid*, an epic poem written in the first century BC (Colt 1962; Hoyland 2015: 65–6; Magness 2003: vol. 1; Shahid 1989: 143). This vocabulary list for the *Aeneid* was used by local schoolboys in a local school at Nessana and in elementary schools in Palestine in the early sixth century (Evans 2005: 22). Furthermore, fourth-century documents and letters mention the names of sophists and *rhetors* who also taught in other schools of rhetoric in Palestine (Gaza, Caesarea-Maritima, Elusa and Aelia Capitolina), some of which had chairs in rhetoric. In the Naqab town of Elusa (whose name was preserved in the modern Naqab Arab village al-Khalasa until 1948), located to the south-west of Beersheba, maintained a school and an official

teacher of rhetoric (Hidary 2017: 6). Joined together into a scroll, an early form of a book, the Nessana papyrus letters and documents show that papyrus writings in Greek, Syriac and Arabic continued into early Islam and Umayyad Palestine.

The third-largest discovery of papyri archives in Palestine was in 1952 at Khirbet al-Mird fortress, in the region of the great Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba. This time over one hundred papyri Arabic manuscripts and literary texts (in three languages: Greek, Arabic and Syriac), mostly from the seventh and eighth centuries, were discovered in 1952 at the library of the Marda monastery (Khirbet al-Mird, south-east of Jerusalem) and are now kept by the Palestinian Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum) in East Jerusalem; this trove was the largest collection of Arabic papyri found outside of Egypt. The papyri collection of the library of the Marda monastery and documents of Mar Saba/Jerusalem show the trilingualism (Greek, Arabic and Syriac) of the educated and social urban elites of Jerusalem in the seventh to eighth centuries.

Global Languages and Cross-Cultural Learning: Transnational Perspectives on Greek and Arabic Higher Learning

'Golden Ages' of Learning in Palestine

There is no single 'golden age' of classical Hellenistic learning and scholarship or Arabic learning and colleges under classical Islam. The same thing applies to Palestine; different learning urban centres in Palestine experienced different 'golden ages' and some of the 'golden ages' were associated with the transnational and multilingual environment of Palestine: notable among these are (1) the Hellenistic academies and multilingual knowledge production libraries of Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza in the third to sixth centuries – whose learning was modelled on the golden age of the Hellenistic learning in Alexandria; and (2) the multilingual environment and combined Greek-Syriac-Arabic centre of text production at the Mar Saba monastery, supported by the neighbouring city of Jerusalem. Both Orientalism and the rise of modern nationalism among Arabs, Greeks, Persians, Turks, Kurds, Turks, Spaniards, West Africans and European Zionist Jews and others have introduced ethnic and even racial categories that have disrupted and distorted the extraordinary achievements of Arabic learning and Arabic sciences.

Today English is viewed as a transnational (global) language of learning and communication, while Greek and Arabic are viewed by some as 'nationalist' (or 'pan-nationalist') languages – but this was not the case for many centuries; both Greek and Arabic – during the 'classical world' and under 'classical Islam' in the Middle Ages as well as Latin in the late Middle Ages and early modern period – were transnational (almost global) lingua francas of learning and education of

vast territories and of many peoples, countries and ethnicities, Palestine included. Inspired by and modelled on Greek sciences and Syriac learning, discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this volume, 'Arabic learning and sciences' was a truly transnational movement of Muslims, Jews and Christians (and an enormous variety of intellectuals of multiple social and ethnic background) who, for over a millennium, used Arabic not just as a lingua franca but also as 'translation movements' in Abbasid Palestine and Iraq, among the greatest movements of learning and sciences in human history. Critiquing the distortions of both the 'nationalist' and 'Orientalist' paradigms of education, this work shows how the Arabs were influenced by the Greek traditions of learning and empirical sciences, but Arab influences on the modern European traditions of learning, sciences, arts and music were equally extraordinary.[3] Also the law colleges (madrasas) of classical Islam were centres of higher education, and analogies between the Islamic madrasas and the early European universities are widely recognized.

Literacies and literatures have been central to the history of sciences and scientific and intellectual revolutions, whether under the Greeks or Muslims or Chinese. This work also shows how the 'golden ages' of Arabic learning and Arabic sciences in Palestine, including the rise of legal education and the medieval fiqh colleges of Islamic Jerusalem, and of the institutionalization of higher education in Palestine (especially from 1187 to 1517), were the products of this extraordinary transnational renaissance movement of the Arabic traditions of Aristotelian philosophy (*falsafa*) of learning and sciences, which evolved across the classical ages of Islam and spanned several continents – a multiethnic and transnational movement with no frontiers, whose 'First Teacher' was Aristotle (*c*. 384–322 BC), one of the greatest scientists of all times, and whose 'Second Teacher' was al-Farabi (López-Farjeat 2016), the tenth-century Muslim polymath – specifically, a jurist, philosopher, mathematician, logician, political scholar and music theorist – who highly appreciated the importance of multiple literacies. The First Teacher (Aristotle) specifically mentioned the importance of reading and writing, mathematics, history, music, physical education, citizenship and a wide range of sciences. The Second Teacher (al-Farabi), also an encyclopaedic humanist scholar, perhaps more than any other scholar of Islam, was also preoccupied with the wide range of multiliteracies and multiple skills mentioned by Aristotle and the importance of combining the linguistic, emotional and visual skills of literacy. For al-Farabi, as for Aristotle, literacy and sciences were considered parts of an organic whole – not only a sum of theoretical and practical fields, but also as an encyclopaedia of sciences and skills.

This work explores the impact of technological revolutions on the evolution and growth of autonomous learning centres in Palestine within contextual (local, regional, neighbouring), comparative and global perspectives. While the earliest schooling in ancient Mesopotamia (and Palestine and its neighbouring countries) began on cuneiform clay tablets, the learning centres and libraries of Byzantine Palestine and archival sources of early Arabic and Umayyad Islamic learning in

Palestine were dominated by papyri texts and papyri collections. However, the technological revolution of papermaking, adapted and developed further by the transnational learning of classical Islam (mid-eighth to eleventh centuries), transformed book production and enabled the construction of bigger libraries and the circulation of more books. The history of papermaking, book production, book circulation and library construction under the Abbasids from the second half of the eighth century onwards was followed by the widespread production of, and trade in, paper in the urban centres of Palestine and Syria (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29) – centres that by the tenth to eleventh centuries not only manufactured paper for local use but also exported it to Egypt and the Byzantine Empire (29). Interestingly, the widely known Cairo Genizah (Hebrew: 'storage' of paper), the storage of worn-out holy texts that were too sacred to destroy, in addition to secular documents and books, 'discovered' in the nineteenth century in the attic of a synagogue built in medieval Cairo, contained paper manuscript fragments from around AD 870. Emerging within the context of an Islamic renaissance and at the height of the Islamic Abbasid intellectual revolution, when paper and books were widely produced and traded in the Islamic and Arab world, today the Cairo Genizah is regarded as one of the most important 'archives' or 'repositories' of Jewish records and books produced under classical Islam. Its archives contain important records about Arab-Jewish societies in the Middle East, the social and economic history of Islamic Palestine as well as records about the manufacturing and widespread trade in paper in the cities of Palestine and Syria in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (29).

The Muslims adapted and developed further their Hellenized subjects' institutions, while developing their own autonomous institutions of learning; while the Ummayad Caliphs embarked on monumental architectural projects such as the mosques and palaces of Jerusalem and Jericho, the Abbasid Muslims imported paper production technologies from China and began from the mid-eighth century to construct mega libraries and a book industry. The most sophisticated Arabic research libraries, which began to emerge in the eighth and ninth centuries, acquired, translated, adapted and developed further the Hellenistic legacies of learning and scholarship, and through the international and global trade routes with Asia, the Arabs acquired technologies such as paper manufacturing (Green 1988: 454–73). In the eleventh century, Islamic *madrasa* libraries, such as those of the law colleges of Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and, later, Jerusalem, continued to flourish. However, the development of libraries in the Arab world began to stall from the sixteenth century onwards as cultural development ebbed from the high levels of classical Islam (454–73).

The Arabic traditions of learning, book production and book marketing developed their own distinct terminologies. Since hand-copied books were expensive, valuable and beyond the financial means of many students and scholars, they were treated as treasures. The medieval Arabic term for a library is *khizanat al-kutub,* literally a bookstore, and the important post of librarian in the

medieval colleges of Cairo and Jerusalem was titled *khazin al-kutub*. The expensive maintenance of Islamic advanced colleges (*madrasas*) and their precious libraries in high medieval Jerusalem was ensured by generous endowed (*waqf*) foundations.

Following the overthrow of the Ummayad Caliphate by the Abbasid Revolution in AD 750–1 and the founding of Baghdad, the new capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, in 762, Chinese-imported papermaking technology and the Arabic book industry began to flourish spectacularly in Baghdad during the Abbasid era, becoming the most important centre of sciences and intellectual life. From the mid-eleventh century onwards Baghdad was the centre of medieval higher education colleges, in what became known as the 'Golden Age of Islam', lasting for several centuries and preserving and reviving ancient Greek philosophy and sciences for the European Renaissance.

Under Islam the international paper trade, the import of paper (*waraq*) from China and local professional knowledge of papermaking became widespread. The production, preparation and transnational transportation of paper and book production from Baghdad to Andalusia were encouraged, and this contributed to the growth in education and Arabic libraries (Goody 2004: 57). The papermaking industry and bookstores proliferated in Baghdad and the 'Book-dealers' Market', also known as the 'Market of paper-makers and scribes' (*Souq al-Warraqin*) was often mentioned as a meeting place of scholars. Bookshops, book dealers and scribes (*warraqin*) performed a variety of functions including the copying of manuscripts and books, the preparation and manufacturing of paper, and the copying, production and marketing of books (Kraemer 1992: 57). In addition to producers and sellers of books there were compilers: for instance, Ibn Nadim, a tenth-century Muslim biographer and the compiler of an encyclopaedia, *Kitab al-Fihrist* ('The Index Book' or 'Book Catalogue'), and Ibn Sayyar of Baghdad (*al-Warraq*), 'the copyist of manuscripts', the compiler of a tenth-century cookbook, *Kitab al-Ṭabikh* (*The Book of Dishes*) – the earliest known Arabic cookbook. Another Baghdadi scholar, known as Abu 'Isa al-Warraq (889–994), a ninth-century Arab sceptic and critic of the notion of revealed religion, argued that people developed science by being intellectually inquisitive and that the science of astronomy came out of empirical sky gazing (Stroumsa 1999). Baghdad (as well as Jerusalem and other Arabo-Islamic cities) become a city of professional copyists, and the profession of scribe and copyist of manuscripts (*warraq*) became one of the most important occupations in medieval Muslim society (Meri 2006: 1:704–5, 'Scribes, Copyists').

The Economics of Literacy: Arabic Book Sellers, Islamic Libraries and Book Markets

Often Arabic and Islamic book dealers and book markets, madrasas, colleges and key urban mosques, located in major cities, were found in close proximity to one another. In Palestine this economics of literacy can be seen during the golden

age of higher education during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (1187–1517); some twenty educational compounds and law colleges in Jerusalem bordered, or were established in the proximity of, the compound of the Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary), the third holiest shrine for Islam. The link between book dealers and key urban mosques can also be found in the Kutubiyya Mosque ('Mosque of the Booksellers') of Marrakesh (built AD 1184–99), the Bou Inania Madrasa in Fes, Morocco (founded in AD 1351–56), Souq al-Kutubiyin in Fustat (Egypt) and the 'Market of knowledges' ('Souq al-Maʾrifa'), the Haram compound in the vicinity of several important madrasas in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period (1260–1517). Another famous example is the book market of Istanbul, a whole street of booksellers, near Beyazıt Mosque, an early sixteenth-century Ottoman mosque, dating back to the fifteenth century. In this book market the word *sahaf* – an originally Arabic word for a codex or collection of sheets, though *mushaf* also refers to a written copy of the Quran – means a shop or a person selling old books and manuscripts. Moreover, the letters and documents we have from the medieval Arab-Jewish Genizah of Fustat (medieval Cairo) – letters that describe in detail the situation in Palestine (Masalha 2018: 2) – show that in Muslim-majority Palestine under the Ayyubids and Mamluks government-owned paper factories operated in Nablus, Safad and other key cities of Palestine and Bilad al-Sham, and the widespread trade in paper existed locally in Jerusalem, al-Ramla and other urban centres in Palestine (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 25–42).

From about AD 800 to 1300 the medieval papermaking technologies, which evolved across distinct regions of Asia and the Middle East, differed significantly from one country to another. Paper can be made from most plants. In medieval Japan paper was made from the bark of the Japanese mulberry; in China and other parts of Asia paper was made with barks and vegetation from bamboo to seaweed. In Palestine, throughout the Mamluk period, the papermaking industry of Nablus used the 'giant reed' (*Arundo donax*), which grows in the riparian and wetland soil of the Jordan Valley (Albkeir 2005: 152; Ghawanma 1982: 59). This giant reed can grow to the height of six metres with a stem base diameter of three inches. In Nablus, the thick, strong stems of the reed were used for papermaking as well as for canes, walking sticks, sandals, ropes, mats, baskets and musical instruments, and the pith of the stems was extracted to make paper.

Private and palace libraries were predominant in early Islam – owned by *sultans*, *wazirs* (ministers), judges, governors, senior hierarchy and bureaucrats, merchants and wealthy scholars who collected books in all branches of knowledges (Meho and Nsouli 1999: 2). However, with the advent of the new Chinese revolution of papermaking production in Abbasid Baghdad from the mid-eighth century onwards and the expansion of the papermaking and Arabic book industry under classical Islam, and with the rise of the Arabic tradition of bibliophilia, public and mosque libraries – in addition to private and palace libraries – began to thrive throughout the great urban centres of the Islamic world, first in Baghdad and later

in medieval Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Andalusia and the great cities of North and West Africa. Major libraries in classical Islam (as well as under the Byzantines and Muslims in Palestine) were not only repositories of books but also centres of learning where new works were created and translations of works were produced and copied (Meri 2006: 1:705, 'Scribes, Copyists').

In the nineteenth century local and private libraries in Jerusalem were still called *Khizanat al-Kutub* (bookstore). However, the grand public libraries (often attached to schools and colleges) of medieval Cairo and Baghdad were called the 'House of Knowledge' ('*Dar al-ʿIlm*), 'House of Wisdom' (*Bayt al-Hikma*) and 'Library of Wisdom' (*Khizanat al-Hikma*). In modern Palestine, from the late Ottoman period onwards, teacher training colleges were called the 'House of Teachers' ('*Dar al-Muʾallimin*'). But, not surprisingly, as with the Library of Ashurbanipal and other royal libraries in the ancient world, the largest libraries were royal libraries of natural sciences, religious sciences, literature and history located in royal Islamic palaces; for instance, the library of Alkazar of multifaith Cordoba (the city of the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd in its heyday) contained 400,000 volumes, while the Fatimid palace library at the time of its seizure by Ayyubid leader Salah al-Din was said to have contained 160,000 books (Goody 2004: 57, 60). These examples show the massive growth in importance of Arabic written *fusha* literacy and the spectacular rise of learning and sciences in Muslim-majority societies from Iraq to Muslim Spain (al-Andalus).

The learning, cultural and technological progress of the Arab/Muslim world compared to the Christian West can hardly be overstated. Maria Rosa Menocal writes that the caliphal library of Cordoba had 'some four hundred thousand volumes, and this at a time when the largest library in Christian Europe probably held no more than four hundred manuscripts' (Menocal 2002: 33). Medieval madrasas/colleges and mosques provided the chief concentration of institutional libraries, while wealthy wazirs amassed great private libraries. Muslim traders, travellers and pilgrims played a key role in the globalization of Islamic learning and Arabic sciences and book circulation. Ibn Battuta (1304–54), the great medieval traveller of the Islamic and Arab world, who journeyed to dozens of countries from West Africa to China and visited Palestine in 1335 – and described its towns and cities – describes the Sankoré Mosque/Madrasa in Timbuktu, modern-day Mali. The Sankoré Masjid/Madrasa, which became an important seat of Islamic learning under the reign of Mansa Musa (1307–32), become a major centre of learning in Africa with an extraordinary collection of books from throughout the Muslim world – in fact, one of the largest collections of books in the Islamic world. Apparently, in the fourteenth century, Sankoré Masjid/Madrasa was capable of housing 25,000 students and the Madrasa had one of the largest libraries in the world at the time with between 400,000 and 700,000 manuscripts (Ibn Battuta 1975: 52–3), including Sufi texts, medieval Islamic works of law and sciences, works on grammar, mathematics, astronomy, historical chronicles and poetry (Liberty Writers Africa 2021).

Furthermore, the great mosque/college libraries and grand public academies/libraries of Baghdad, Fustat, Cordoba, Jerusalem and Toledo employed an army of librarians, translators, transcribers, scholars, scientists, public scribes and authors. These were predominantly *men*: men of letters, philosophers, poets, cartographers, calligraphers, copyists and booksellers; *women* were largely excluded from this public domain, although some Islamic women found ways of circumventing this male domination of public education and, as we shall see in Chapter 5, founded some famous colleges. However, together these *men* of letters were credited with the rise of the Arabic translation movements (at the Palestinian monasteries and in Baghdad) from different languages of classical Islam – a movement which played a major role in the development and rise of Arab scientific knowledges. Also, with the large-scale Arabic tradition of bibliophilia, the artistic tradition and practice of Arabic and Islamic handwriting, calligraphy and book illustration took off, and this was based upon the Arabic alphabet, which embodied the centrality of the notion of writing and written text in Islam.

However, Islamic Jihadi attacks in the Middle East and Africa have in recent years posed a serious threat to the written and material heritage of the Islamic world; for instance, in January 2013 an Islamic Jihadi attack on the library of Ahmad Baba Institute in Timbuktu destroyed thousands of Arabic and Islamic manuscripts dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Jones 2013). In the Middle East the rise of terrorist groups such as Daesh (also known as ISIS, or the 'Islamic State') has dealt a major blow to the diverse and rich cultural and material heritage of Islam in Iraq and Syria.

Town and Gown (City and University): Cities of Learning and Civic Education in Late Antiquity in Palestine

In the history of higher education, complex relations between 'town and gown' have been for a long time the subject of research and scholarly publications (Berkey 2014; Brockliss 1990: 8:238; Hadjittofi 2019: 145–63; Westberg 2019 164–86). While early functional literacy and scribal schools in ancient Palestine focused on narrow ruling elites, the classical pedagogical revolution of late antiquity in Palestine increasingly democratized and widened education within the 'city' as a whole, while its civic institutions became the focus of learning and citizenship. Moreover, for centuries in late antiquity, Gaza, Caesarea-Maritima and Neapolis (Nablus) as well as Islamic Jerusalem under the Mamluks and late Ottoman Jerusalem all embodied the idea of 'cities of learning' (see also Stenger 2019) and the cosmopolitanism of Palestinian education. However, it would be misleading to apply a linear approach to the historical evolution of literacy and education in Palestine or simply conceptualize education into 'ancient', 'medieval'

and 'modern'. Education in Palestine experienced both a spectacular rise in late antiquity (under the Byzantines) and in the Middle Ages (especially in Islamic Jerusalem under the Mamluks) and a relative educational decline in the middle Ottoman period. Exploring peaks and troughs in advanced and higher education in the country, this work shows the high levels of education in cosmopolitan Roman Neapolis, cosmopolitan Byzantine Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina and Mamluk Jerusalem; it also shows the decline of education in the middle Ottoman period. Also, this work is not in favour of the traditional 'national' paradigm of the history of education in Palestine; instead it utilizes comparative, cross-cultural and transnational perspectives on education and the history of schools in Palestine. Indeed, for millennia Palestine functioned as a transit country for people, international trade and exchanges of intellectual ideas and technologies, and its transnational highways, linking three different continents, straddled the country (Masalha 2018). This transnational history of education in Palestine – which can be seen in the Sumerian-style schooling of ancient Shikmu (near Nablus), Megiddo, Gezer and ancient Jericho; the Byzantine philosophical academies and libraries of Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina (often referred to under the Byzantines as *Metropolis Palaestinae*); the Islamic law colleges of medieval Jerusalem; and the beginnings of the modern educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory period – has left an indelible legacy and marked impact on education and schooling in Palestine. Furthermore, the history of education in Palestine is a history of ongoing processes of urban rise and decline and rise again, and of continuities and interruptions.

However, the blending of 'gown and town' (college and city) in the history of Palestinian education was not unique to the great learning cities of Gaza and Caesarea-Maritima and under the Byzantines. In Chapter 5, I explore the blending of academic life and top educational institutions (fiqh madrasas) with the surrounding urban life in the great Islamic city of Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks.

The argument *against* a linear approach to pre-modern literacy and advanced learning in Palestine and *for* the 'rise and decline' of literacy in Palestine in both late antiquity and the late Middle Ages is empirically evidenced; in fact, a decline (and even confiscation) of *awqaf*, charitable endowed law colleges (*madrasas*) (al-Khalili 2004) and, generally, literacy in the country, can be detected during politically turbulent periods (for instance, during the middle Ottoman period). The evolution of literacy and of private, public and cosmopolitan community-missionary schools in Palestine is explored here within the evolving country's multiple contexts and the construction of a distinct modern Palestinian identity: local, regional and international. The work will chart the history of schools in Palestine (ancient, medieval and modern) and explore the change and evolution of youth teaching and learning in the country. Rather than presenting a systematic historical survey of schooling and education in Palestine across periods, the

following argues for four distinct educational developments in Palestine from the Byzantine period to the immediate post-1948 Nakba period:

- the higher educational revolution of late antiquity and Byzantine Palestine, fourth to sixth centuries AD;
- the phenomenal rise in legal education and the proliferation of endowed colleges of Islamic Jerusalem – an endowment system that allowed some of these colleges to survive economically and flourish for hundreds of years;
- the spread of schools and colleges for advanced learning in the modern era, and mass literacy and the beginnings of the educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory period; and
- the Palestine refugees and the schools of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

The cosmopolitan and 'transnational' dimensions of the schools and educational revolutions of Palestine under the Byzantines, Mamluks and late Ottomans, with the movement across countries of scholars, students, ideas and skills, can hardly be overstated.

Varieties of Curricula, Languages and Contexts

The evolution of the medieval Arabic educational practices of Palestine mirrored, in many ways, both the evolution of Hellenistic and Byzantine educational traditions of Palestine and the Islamic traditions of neighbouring Arab countries: from informal teaching circles and loosely operating learning groups with flexible content to structured academic schools following cohesive curricula. The first few centuries of early Islamic education were largely carried out in informal study circles and mosque circles, but beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, the ruling Ayyubid and Mamluk elites in Palestine began to encourage the establishment of institutions of higher learning and colleges (known as *madrasas*) in an effort to secure the support and cooperation of local educated elites and to recruit skilled staff for state bureaucracies. Today a structured and compulsory state elementary schooling, which centres not only on literacy and numeracy but also on 'learning with' and 'social learning', is taken for granted – while home schooling is the exception. By contrast in ancient times informal teaching circles and home and private tuition, especially among privileged social elites and wealthy families, who could afford private tutors, was normal. In ancient Palestine, individuals from elite and wealthy social backgrounds were often tutored at home. Although primary schooling became available in Byzantine urban Palestine to both sexes, until the modern era women of upper-class and urban social backgrounds also had some form of education through home schooling, and many became patrons of endowed public education (for instance,

al-Khatuniyya College in Jerusalem). This work explores the evolution of teaching and learning in Palestine across millennia. Discussing a number of educational revolutions in Palestine within their historical contexts, this work also presents a variety of schooling traditions in the country. The variety of teaching and learning methods and learning centres includes:

- ancient *functional* literacy and numeracy and modern education;
- ancient scribal schools versus advanced academies;
- group schooling versus home and private tutoring;
- elite colleges versus elementary popular literacy;
- state and publicly funded colleges (such as the rhetorical School of Gaza in the fifth to sixth centuries and the Byzantine law college of Caesarea-Palaestina) versus private schools and colleges;
- formally structured schools and colleges versus informal and loosely structured teaching circles and learning groups;
- Islamic legal (fiqh) higher education colleges versus popular Quranic and Kuttab schools;
- state schools versus autonomous and community colleges;
- religious education versus modern secular teaching;
- sedentary urban and semi-urban schools versus itinerant, peripatetic and travelling teachers and academics;
- houses of tablets and medieval scriptoria and modern libraries;
- private libraries versus public libraries;
- *autonomous agency*: self-instituting and self-empowering education versus conformist education and *heteronomous agency* – the latter draws on terms suggested by Immanuel Kant and Jean-Jacques Rousseau to refer to a human agency educated to be ruled and governed by others (Andrews 2006: 36; Rousseau [1754–62] 2010).

The debate on the evolution of *structured* education in Palestine in antiquity focuses on (a) formal schools with a fully structured curriculum (with a list of topics) and well-defined (bottom-up) stages of progression; (b) textually and topically structured classroom practices. Within the classical Hellenistic traditions of pedagogical practices, which affected Palestine deeply in late antiquity, two distinct classroom traditions evolved: (1) the structured and sedentary formal school (and academy) with its elementary and advanced stages of progression; and (2) the peripatetic classroom practices of learning circles whose philosophical teachings derived from their founder Aristotle, his followers and the teachings of the Lyceum of Athens. An informal institution whose members also conducted philosophical and scientific inquiries, the Lyceum's most significant contributions to learning were the empirical scientific method, observational learning, ethics and the creation of syllogism and deductive (Aristotelian) logic (Goddard and Melville 2001: 114; Wren 2007: 14–18). The pedagogical classroom practices of the Peripatetic school became an adjective ascribed to Aristotle's followers, informal learning and travelling school teachers. And compared to the Platonists, Stoics

and Epicureans, education in peripatetic teaching circles tended to be textually, not topically, structured (Snyder 2000: 66).

Historically, the term peripatetic has also been used to describe a variety of itinerant teachers including travelling teachers in regions without formal schools, the teaching of the sophists of ancient Greece, and of Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples as well as some of the teaching methods of Palestinian schools in Caesarea-Maritima under the Byzantines. Within the Islamic context – in which literacy and the written word evolved to become the basis of learning – in many of the pastoral regions of North Africa and the Middle East a particular type of non-sedentary travelling school, the *mahdara* school, evolved as a kind of Islamic literacy school dedicated to the social circumstances of non-sedentary *badawa* pastoralism.

Moreover, the Arabic traditions of learning in Palestine and neighbouring countries during the early and middle Ottoman periods were characterized by a variety of schools and higher educational urban colleges including:

1. the provincial 'imperial' Ottoman state madrasa system;
2. autonomous higher educational colleges and madrasas (such as the Azhar College of Cairo, the Islamic fiqh colleges of Jerusalem and the Islamic Religious College of Acre); and
3. literacy 'from below' and the impact of modernity on the Kuttab schools (Muslim, Jewish and Christian) in Palestine.

The variety of educational systems increased phenomenally with the proliferation of community and European funding of cosmopolitan missionary schools in the late Ottoman period – a variety that would form a catalyst for the emergence of a cosmopolitan urban culture and identity in Palestine. Within the context of the pre-Islamic polytheistic Arab society, which its predominantly *oral* cultures, the Arab poet emerged as an itinerant teacher. The itinerant Arab poets cultivated immensely rich aural/oral traditions and epic stories, and prized, in particular, exquisite oral poetry, the oldest form of Arabic literature. Furthermore, for many centuries before Islam the spread of Arabic in the predominantly oral culture of Arabia and beyond, and the Arabization of significant parts of the Levant and Iraq, were carried out through the memorization of aural/oral traditions, epics, Arabic poetry and classic poems (for instance, the *muʾallaqat*). In the predominantly aural/oral Arab society the poetry and rhetoric of itinerant poets played the role of oral historian and storyteller, and became a major source for the Arabic language and rhetoric, and the art of public speaking and persuasion at poetry competitions at seasonal literary events. This communication of powerful pre-Islamic aural/oral traditions and poetry, and the memorization of epics were transmitted not only by poets and storytellers (*rawis*) but also by travelling Arab traders, through the annual pilgrimage to pre-Islamic Mecca and poetry competitions at seasonal literary markets (a famous example was Souq ʿUkath, near Taʾif in the Hijaz). In this pre-Islamic Arab

aural/oral culture the poet played the role of oral historian, storyteller, social and moral critic, public intellectual, soothsayer and political agitator. Arabic poetry and Arabic literacy and the movement from a predominantly aural/oral culture and oral traditions to a more literate Arabic setting and book culture were hugely influenced by the spread of Hellenistic Christianity and later by the rise of Islam and what Islam termed the 'People of the Book' (*Ahl al-Kitab*). Crucially, this gradual movement from oral culture and aural/oral traditions to written literacy and written culture was also promoted by the Christian Arab courts of the Ghassanid *phylarchs* of Byzantine Palestine. These courts generously patronized the arts, especially Arabic poetry. This movement to Arabic literacy, together with the important tradition of memorization of epics and classic Arabic poetry, was massively accelerated under Islam and the spread of the Islamic Empire and the establishment of literary Arabic as the lingua franca of the vast Islamic Empire as well as the language of learning, book production and transmission, and the consumption of knowledge. The Arabs of *Provincia Palaestina* and former *Provincia Arabia*, with their predominantly aural/oral culture, were also influenced by the literary life of the Arabs in the fifth and sixth centuries and by the tradition of memorization of classic Arabic poetry by poets, itinerant *rawis* and ordinary people.

In my work *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* I discuss the rise of Christian Arab tribal kingdoms in (pre-Islamic) Byzantine Palestine. In pre-Islamic times, in addition to the Christian Arab kingdom at Hirah, in southern Iraq, an Arab tribal kingdom emerged in the north-east of Palestine with its capital in Jabiyah (modern-day Golan Heights), with court poets, such as al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani (AD 535–604), who played an important role in the spread of classical Arabic poetry, residing for a period at Jabiyah. The Ghassanid tribal kings of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Secunda, with their capital at Jabiyah, patronized the arts and entertained some key itinerant Arabian poets such as al-Nabighah and Hassan Ibn Thabit (d.674; a companion of the Prophet Muhammad) at their courts. One possible connection between the Ghassanids of Palestine as protectors of the Christian holy places in the 'land of the Gospel' and the future Islamic holy places in Mecca is related to al-Nabighah, a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad (AD 570–632). Al-Nabighah (literally 'the genius') was one of the last great Arab poets in the pre-Islamic era who spent most of his time at the courts of the Ghassanid kings in Palestine and the courts of the Christian Arab kings of Hirah, al-Mundhirs. Like the Byzantine provinces of Palaestina Tertia and Palaestina Secunda, Hirah was an important major pre-Islamic Arab Christian centre, being a diocese of the Church of the East between the fourth and seventh centuries and the seat of the Nestorian bishopric by AD 410. Al-Nabighah became known by his Christian Arab name Ilyas and later as 'Ilyas from the Land of the Gospel' (*Ilyas min ard al-Bishara*) or the Holy Land, as described by Arab historian al-Maqrizi (1364–1442). Greek was one the two lingua francas of Byzantine Palestine and Ilyas is the Arabic form of the Greek Elias, a name common among

Christian Arabs today. Al-Nabighah/Ilyas is one of the six eminent pre-Islamic poets whose poems were collected before the middle of the second century of Islam and have been regarded as the standard of Arabic poetry. These poets wrote long poems comparable to epic poems, known as *Muʿallaqat* since they were hung on the walls of the Kaaba (a building at the centre of Islam's most sacred mosque in Mecca). The surviving descriptions of the Ghassanid urban centres and courts impart an image of luxury and an active cultural life, with patronage of the arts, music and especially Arab-language poetry. Warwick Ball, writer, archaeologist and former Architectural Conservator in the Department of Antiquities in Jordan, comments:

> The Ghassanid courts were the most important centres for Arabic poetry before the rise of the Caliphal courts under Islam, and their court culture, including their penchant for desert palaces like Qasr ibn Wardan, provided the model for the Umayyad caliphs and their court.
>
> (Ball 2000: 103–05; see also Shahid 2006: 102)

However, the dominant tradition of schooling and learning in Palestine under both the Byzantines and Muslims was its formal education, which was characterized in well-defined stages. At the same time, while the travelling and informal observational learning tradition of the Aristotelian Peripatetic School of philosophy was lost in the Latin West, in the East it was rediscovered and incorporated into early Islamic philosophy, which would play a fundamental role in the revival and renaissance of Islamic Aristotelian philosophy in the Middle Ages, something that would have a major impact on Latin learning in late medieval Europe and the European Renaissance. Islamic Aristotelianism reached new heights in the earlier Islamic renaissance of al-Andalus, and self-educating through observation, experiment and reasoning was famously found in the Arabic philosophical novel by Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓan, an allegorical tale written by Andalusian polymath Ibn Tufayl in the early twelfth century. Apparently, Ibn Tufayl later inspired Ibn Rushd to write his famous Aristotelian commentaries. Ibn Tufayl's book became known in Latin Europe as *Philosophus Autodidactus* ('The Self-Taught Philosopher') (Ibn Tufayl 1972; M. Khalidi 2005) – a democratizing tradition of self-learning and auto-emancipation which can be contrasted with expensive structured elite higher education. Also, in pre-modern times, especially prior to the nineteenth century, autodidacticism – a term that has its roots in the Greek words *autós* (self) and *didaktikos* (teaching) – or self-education and self-directed informal education, was an important factor in raising literacy rates and qualities, and many intellectuals and inventors were largely self-educated through observation, reasoning and experimentation. However, classical peripatetic pedagogical practices were also evident in the schools and learning circles of Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza in the fourth to sixth centuries AD. Also, informal and less structurally rigid education was introduced by radical Palestinian educator Khalil Sakakini.

Pre-Modern Higher Education in Palestine

The theme of higher education in Palestine, before the early modern period and since the late Ottoman period, is an important issue which has been left on the margins of Palestine studies. For many centuries throughout Roman and Byzantine times the influence of Greek language, culture and education in Palestine was deeply rooted, and this can be seen in the day-to-day life of the key urban centres as well as in the higher education of the Palestinians. This work explores the extent to which cosmopolitan Hellenistic culture and education both influenced Palestine and acted as a vehicle for the self-expression of the indigenous cultures in Palestine. In 100 BC when a Palestinian named Antiochus of Ascalon (130–68/67 BC) wanted to continue his higher education, he had to take a boat to the Greek port city of Piraeus to enrol at Plato's famous Academy of Athens (Greek: *Ἀκαδημία, Akademia*). Five hundred years later (the second half of the fifth century AD), Marinus of Neapolis (Nablus) in Byzantine Palestine travelled to Athens to study at the Platonic Academy originally founded by Plato as an idealist (walled) school outside the city walls of ancient Athens in *c*. 387 BC. Although during Plato's life the Academy did not have a formal structure or a cohesive curriculum, its academic curriculum would have closely resembled the one canvassed in Plato's *Republic*. Also, it is generally assumed that mathematics, geometry, philosophical topics and the use of the classical dialogical and dialectical method of searching for truth and learning (Greek: διαλεκτική; *Dialexei* and *Dissoi Logoi*: *δισσοὶ λόγοι*), of 'contrasting arguments', were central to classroom practices and experiences in Byzantine Palestine. This method was also central to the educational experiences of students and their professional careers of the late fifth century AD. A case in point is the professional career of Palestinian mathematician Marinus of Neapolis, who became the head of Plato's Academy in Athens. The dialectical method of learning was also central to the curriculum of the famous rhetorical School of Gaza in the 'Athens of Asia' in the fifth to sixth century AD. Subsequently, at the beginning of the sixth century, Marinus of Nablus was succeeded by another Palestinian scholar of late antiquity, Isidorus of Gaza, as the head of the Platonic Academy in Athens (Tennemann 1852: 193).

The original Platonic Academy was a product of Plato's idealist and 'detached' approach to teaching and learning and scepticism about the possibility of human knowledge. Antiochus of Ascalon (Greek: *Ἀσκάλων*; Arabic: Asqalan; and later al-Majdal-Asqalan; Hebrew: Ashkelon) began teaching his own version of Platonism at the Platonic Academy; he rejected the old radical scepticism of the Academy on the possibility of knowledge and advocated a combination of Neoplatonism with Stoicism and the pragmatic and practical Peripatetic school whose 'engaged' approach to teaching and learning derived from the philosophies of its founder Aristotle (384–322 BC) and his followers. Initiated by Antiochus of Ascalon, this phase in the history of the Academy of Athens became known as Middle Platonism (Neoplatonism). The history of the Academy is divided by some into

five phases, and others into three: the old, middle and new phases; others talk about two academies: the old and new. In any case, three Palestine-born classical scholars – Antiochus of Ascalon (Asqalan), Marinus of Neapolis and Isidorus of Gaza – rose to become headteachers, or *scholarches*, of the Platonic Academy of Athens, the most famous academy (*Ἀκαδημία*) of the ancient world.

Of course, throughout antiquity, unlike in modern times, the Mediterranean Sea (the 'Middle of Land Sea') brought people and intellectual ideas together rather than divided them. However, on the face of it, it sounds extraordinary that three (foreign) Palestinians became directors and headteachers of the most famous academy of the ancient world. Yet, five centuries after Antiochus had arrived in Athens, the Mediterranean city of Gaza, in Byzantine Palestine, became a premier 'university town' for the whole Mediterranean region and the home of high-quality classical education in the Attic Greek dialect and became known as the 'Athens of Asia', embodying the great rational traditions of learning, and as famous as Athens and Alexandria; many Palestinian students chose not to take the boat to Piraeus or even Alexandria in Egypt and instead enrolled at home in the famous academies of Palestine. In fact, students and bishops from across the eastern Mediterranean (and as far away as Cappadocia) arrived and spent between four and seven years in the higher educational academies of Gaza and Caesarea-Maritima – academies that were viewed by the local classicizing Palestinian intellectual elite as having replaced the Academy of Plato in Athens and the Lyceum of Aristotle. This work will chart the extraordinary rise and decline of pre-modern higher education in Palestine. It will also describe the golden age of higher education in the form of the medieval colleges of Islamic Jerusalem during the Ayyubids and Mamluk periods (1187–1517).

The Impact of Neighbouring Cities of Learning: Athens, Gaza, Alexandria, Caesarea-Palaestina, Al-Quds, Nablus, Beirut, Baghdad and Cairo

After cuneiform, the alphabet was the next stage in the history of writing and literacy and 'it too originated in the Middle East' (Roper 2017: Intro.). The Greek alphabet (in use since the early eighth century BC and giving rise to later scripts such as Latin, Cyrillic and Coptic/Egyptian) is derived from an earlier 'neighbouring' script: the Phoenician alphabet, which also gave rise to closely related scripts such as Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan and Hebrew. In Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and Martin Bernal's *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (1987), which discuss the cultures of ancient Greece in relation to Greece's African and Asiatic 'neighbours' – ancient Egyptians and Phoenicians – Orientalism has had to reinvent itself in the form of narrow Area studies and narrow approaches to Islamic studies. To begin with, 'Islamic sciences' of the Middle Ages were not confined to Islamic religious studies but made extraordinary advances in secular natural

sciences and secular humanities. Also, although the impact of the 'neighbouring learning centres' on education in Palestine is an important factor to keep in mind, this work bucks the recent trend of Eurocentric revivalism and the feteshization of Islamic Palestine, by going beyond narrow Area studies and focusing on global trends and transnational influences on education in Palestine. This work is about the transnationalism and multidimensionalism of learning, of being influenced by others and learning with and influencing others. If the influence of 'neighbouring' urban centres and their urban intellectual elites (in Athens, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad and Constantinople/Istanbul) on Palestine can hardly be overstated, neither should the cultural, religious and intellectual traditions of Palestine and their impact on the learning traditions of neighbouring countries be underestimated.

Moreover, the technological revolutions (from papyrus and parchment in ancient times to paper under classical Islam, then more recently, from modern printing presses to digital forms of learning and communicating new and radical ideas) and the introduction of new and modern global modes of transport, faster shipping of imported goods and faster communication have had an enormous impact on the education of Palestinians. When it comes to international and global influences and their impact on learning and academic developments in Palestine, we can see parallels running through from ancient times to the modern era. Central to these transnational influences across millennia are the great learning and cosmopolitan cities of Athens, Caesarea-Palaestina, Alexandria, Gaza, Beirut, Cairo, Baghdad, Al-Quds and Nablus. However, what should be kept in mind is not simply the mimicking or crude copying by Palestinians of educational patterns and models from abroad, but the adaptation and fusing of ideas and creation of new forms of intellectual and educational practices in Palestine. Whether it was the rhetorical School of Gaza, the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina under the Byzantines or the law colleges of Jerusalem under Islam, these Palestinian institutions became distinct and famous at the time in their own right and were highly appreciated for the distinctiveness of their scholarly contribution far beyond a small country such as Palestine. While keeping in mind Bernal's approach to 'core history', this work will move back and forth from core history to discourse analysis, and between history and historiography, exploring the evolution of several cosmopolitan intellectual and educational parallels, including:

1. the Neoplatonist schools of Neapolis (Nablus): the Academies of Athens and Alexandria (Roman times);
2. the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina: the Library of Alexandria (Roman times and late antiquity);
3. Origen's Didascaleion of Caesarea-Palaestina: the Catechetical School of Alexandria (late Roman period);
4. the rhetorical School of Gaza: the academies of Athens and Alexandria (Byzantine period);

5. the law college of Caesarea-Palaestina: the law colleges of Berytos (Beirut) and Alexandria (late antiquity);
6. legal education and the Islamic fiqh colleges of Jerusalem: the madrasas of medieval Cairo (Ayyubid and Mamluk periods) and Abbasid Baghdad;
7. Al-Azhar college (Cairo): the Acre Ahmadiyya seminary (Ottoman period, late eighteenth century to 1948); and
8. Khalil Sakakini's innovative Renaissance pedagogy: Arab Nahda education (in late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine).

Law Colleges and the Scholastic Traditions of Palestine: The Debate about the Origins of Early Modern European Scholasticism and Universities

In ancient Palestine (as in the wider Near East) knowledge of the law, literacy and privileged scribal scholarly elites often went hand in hand. The scribes as a group of professional legal experts famously appear in the New Testament; in first-century Judaism scribes and Pharisees were two distinct and powerful groups in Palestine. The professional scribes had knowledge of the law and effectively acted as lawyers and could draft legal documents (including contracts for land sale, loans, marriages, divorce and inheritance). The Pharisees, like the scribes, were also known as legal experts, although most Pharisees were small landowners and traders, not professional scribes. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus' main adversaries in Galilee were scribes who challenged the teaching of Jesus and his particular interpretation of the law, but, according to the Gospel of Matthew, they were Pharisees (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998a).

As academic life began to develop in Palestine, legal studies emerged as a major component of elite Byzantine education and, until the rise of modern schools and mass education in the country, the study of law in the fiqh madrasas was a centrepiece of advanced Islamic education in Palestine – a field dominated by a relatively small class of legal scholars and Islamic jurists. For the first few centuries, early Islamic education in Palestine was largely carried out in informal study circles and mosque circles, but from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onwards, the ruling Ayyubid and Mamluk elites in Palestine began to encourage the establishment of structured institutions of higher education known as *madrasas* in an effort to secure the support and cooperation of local educated elites and recruit skilled staff for central and regional state bureaucracies.

Classical Islam and Islamic literary scholasticism (and literary criticism) of the Middle Ages were heterogenous and produced a number of methodological approaches to the text and higher education, including rationalist and conservative-traditionalist approaches as well as a mixture of the two. Also, scholastic methods

were used in higher learning by both radical-rationalist philosophies and traditionalist-conservative religious philosophies. Successes in Arabic education and the 'Islamic sciences' of the Middle Ages can be measured in more than one way, including through academic-intellectual, social-economical and professional-vocational means. Throughout classical Islam, legal education and the study of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) became the 'queen of Arabic and Islamic sciences' – practical sciences, which also developed further the practical legal and literary scholastic methods of Islam, with their emphasis on intellectual logical methods of teaching and learning, as evidenced in the advanced Islamic law colleges of the Middle East (Makdisi 1981: 9; 1990). Rational and practical literary scholasticism, combined with logical dialectical reasoning, was also a method that dominated higher learning by professional *scholastics* (teachers; academics) – from the Latin *scholasticus* and originally from ancient Greek *σχολαστικός* (*skholastikós*) – of late medieval and early modern universities in Europe and the great age of scholasticism from about 1100 to 1700. Also during this age of scholasticism, a school of philosophy emerged that employed a critical method of philosophical analysis based on a Latin theistic curriculum which dominated teaching in the universities in Europe until 1700. Today, however, modern secular prejudices and the European intellectual and scientific revolutions since the seventeenth century cloud our judgement about the important intellectual achievements of higher education and the literary teaching and learning methods during the great ages of scholasticism under both classical Islam and early modern Europe.

George Makdisi (1925–2002), an influential historian of Islamic learning practices, argues that scholasticism was a *movement* and a *method* of professional higher learning and 'legal science, not philosophy' (1999: 3–4) and that 'Scholasticism was shared by two medieval civilizations only, classical Islam and the Christian West, to the exclusion of the Christian East' (3–4). In his works *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (1981: 225) and *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (1990), Makdisi sees medieval Islamic scholasticism as confined to the legal sciences of traditional-conservative Islam and is sceptical about the direct impact of medieval Islamic learning on the rise of modern (post-1700) higher education in the West. However, Makdisi – as well as Lowry et al. in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi* (2004) – explores the legal education of classical Islam and the rise of humanistic education and non-Western 'origins' of late medieval and early modern European scholasticism and dialectical method of discourse, based on logic and empirical evidence, and finds that it began within the contexts of the medieval Islamic *madrasa* and the colleges of the Middle Ages. Students of the scholastic methods of the Nizamiyya College of medieval Baghdad – a Sunni state-sponsored college famous for its sophisticated education and for being the first professional Islamic higher educational college – were also trained in dialectics (*al-jadaliyya*) to explore (and even counter) different opinions such as those of Shiʾites. The Nizamiyya

College provided a model for the subsequent legal education of the Islamic madrasas, including those of the top medieval fiqh colleges of Islamic Jerusalem under both the Ayyubids and Mamluks. The first head (and professor) of the prestigious Palestinian higher education college the Salahiyya College, founded by Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din in Jerusalem in 1188–92, was Ibn Shaddad, a distinguished jurist, author and academic who had taught in the pioneering Nizamiyya College of Baghdad (Ahmad 2015: 18; Jarrar 1998: 86; Ibn Shaddad 2002: 2–4), founded in 1066, the first of a system of endowed public education colleges with grants for students, salaries for teachers and library expenses, all paid from the endowment (Fischer 2003: 38). The arrival of the Latin crusaders in Palestine in the late eleventh century may have delayed the introduction of the Islamic higher learning colleges in Jerusalem by at least a century.

Following the Nizamiyya College other Islamic colleges of law evolved as a structured form of highly professional and organized learning institutions, beginning with eleventh-century Baghdad (Iraq) and then spreading to the surrounding Islamic countries (including Palestine) through the establishment of private and public *waqf* foundations. Makdisi (1981, 1990) argued that these literate scholastic methods and discourses in Islam – *al-jadaliyya* – based on logic and empirical evidence, were the real 'origins' of the college (later university) in the Christian West. Clearly the rise of religious humanist movements and the scholastic method of the late medieval European colleges (first in Bologna, then Paris and other universities) emerged from multiple traditions and within multiple contexts (including the late medieval Christian monastic schools). However, the 'origins' and intellectual movements of scholasticism, which were central to the curricula of the Islamic fiqh madrasas of the Middle Ages, according to Makdisi, contributed significantly to the subsequent emergence of the higher education college in the Christian West in the late Middle Ages and early modern period (Makdisi 1981, 1990).

However, in regard to the debate about the 'origins' of European scholasticism, disputations on logic and philosophy as a teaching method long preceded and followed the scholasticism of the Islamic fiqh madrasas of the Middle Ages. Moreover, unlike Makdisi, I will show that scholastic methods and legal sciences were taught at professional higher learning institutions and law colleges in Christian Byzantine Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt in late antiquity. Indeed, scholastic methods of disputation and dialectical arguments and counter-arguments were taught by the law colleges of Caesarea-Maritima, Alexandria and (especially) Berytos (Beirut) in late antiquity, long before the rise of the Islamic law and jurisprudence colleges in the eleventh century. Blending faith with reason in the scholastic method of dialectics is also strongly present in the Mar Saba's works of Yahya Mansur al-Dimashqi (John of Damascus) (Atiya 1965: 75–6), a polymath, celebrated philosopher, poet, theologian, musician, hymnographer and key figure of Eastern Christianity and Palestinian monasticism. The trilingual (Syriac, Greek and Arabic) Yahya al-Dimashqi (or Mansur bin Sarjun) was

also a pioneer of the Muslim-Christian dialogue and a great defender of visual representations and storytelling through sacred images. For the first time 'linguistic literacy' and primary education became widely available during the Byzantine era – where literacy was far more widespread than in Western Europe – and this was predominantly the case in urban Byzantine Palestine (fourth to early seventh century) but also sometimes at the village level, and uniquely for the era, both sexes. However, higher education in Byzantine Palestine was largely the privilege of aristocratic and wealthy elites and affluent families. The Byzantine higher learning culture in Palestine and the eastern Mediterranean, Christianized in the fourth and fifth centuries, was promoted and transmitted by an educational system that was inherited from the Greco-Roman past and based on the study and imitation of practical Hellenistic education.

Rhetoric and the art of public speaking were central to higher education and advanced legal training in Byzantine Palestine; rhetoric and public performance were also at the heart of the urban 'cultural space' of the country – a space in which the city squares of Gaza, Caesarea-Maritima, Neapolis (Nablus), Aelia Capitolina, Scythopolis (Beisan), Tiberias, Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) and Petra were dotted with theatres, amphitheatres, stadiums and hippodromes. The main content of this higher learning for most students was rhetoric (and philosophy and Aristotelian logic), law, Christian theology, Latin and Greek, with the aim of educating skilled and learned personnel to staff the courts and bureaucratic postings of state and Church. The Byzantine higher education system, as also evidenced from the rhetorical School of Gaza, was oriented towards 'rhetoric with Aristotle's logical works as one of its main platforms' (Cameron and Gaul 2017: 3). Also, from the fourth century onwards the term *scholastikos* (*σχολαστικός*) was coined and applied to students educated in law, philosophical reasoning and rhetoric – the art of public speaking – and *scholastikos* became a title favoured by professional lawyers and barristers educated and trained in the law schools of Caesarea-Palaestina, Alexandria and Berytos (Beirut). All Egyptian, Palestinian and Lebanese professional Byzantine law students – and would-be *scholastikos* or lawyers – also learned from the ancient scholastic method of disputation (of arguments and counter-arguments), with its emphasis on the logical method of reasoning designed to expand and deepen knowledge by logical inferences and expose contradictions and resolve differences of opinion.

Legal education was often linked to state power and the application of the legal systems was important to the establishment of centralized bureaucracy and the exercise of state power. The legal systems of the ancient Middle East, from the Sumerian Code of Ur-Nammu (*c*. 2100–2050 BC) to the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi (*c*. 1760 BC) – some of which later found echoes in the 'commandments'/laws of the Old Testament – are the oldest known written legal systems in the world. Study of the written law is first found in the Sumerian school curricula and cuneiform clay tablets of ancient times. A signficant part of this work will be devoted to the evolution of legal education and the judicial system

of Palestine across millennia. Historically, Roman law and the civil legal system of the Roman Empire, whose legal developments span over a thousand years of jurisprudence (from *c*. 449 BC to AD 529) and whose influence on the laws of Palestine was significant, was among the most influential civil legal systems of the world; its legal terminology and influence have extended into modern times. This civil legal system was restructured by Emperor Justinian in the early AD 530s in the form of *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Body of Civil Law) – an imperial restructuring of law and educational textbooks, which had some negative impact on autonomous advanced legal education in Palestine. Before the Code of Justinian, Palestine produced (within the wider Roman law system) its own legal literature and its school provided training for local lawyers. The Code of Justinian eliminated this autonomy and 'devolution' and homogenized legal training throughout the empire and eliminated the local law schools of Alexandria and Caesarea-Maritima, thus demoting higher learning in Caesarea-Maritima, whose world-famous institutions (library and Origen school) had for centuries made the city an international centre of education, generating significant revenues for the capital of Palestine.

For many centuries, grammar combined with literature, and law combined with Aristotelian logic and rhetoric, were major components of Roman (Bonner 2012) and Byzantine education, including advanced Byzantine schooling in Palestine. These four key components of education also flourished in the advanced law colleges of classical Islam in the Middle Ages. Moreover, in Roman and Byzantine times the terms 'scholar' and 'lawyer' became synonymous, and Palestinian lawyers had advanced professional training in the famous traditions of the Roman law and Byzantine *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Evans 2005: 21, 67). In Byzantine Palestine the title *scholastikos* was bestowed on professional lawyers and barristers, and the term distinguished lawyers from *scholarches* who served as heads of higher learning colleges in the country.

In Byzantine Palestine of the fifth and early sixth centuries, whose dominant language was Greek, graduate *scholastikos* were trained in the law schools of Alexandria and Caesarea-Palaestina as well as in the prestigious 'imperial' law college of Berytos (Beirut). During the Roman period the language and terminology of the law was in Latin and the latter was used in the law schools of Alexandria, Caesarea-Palaestina and Berytos, and subsequently by the bureaucrats and officials of the Byzantine Empire, who were able to read and write in it (Treadgold 1997: 128). In the fourth century the Greek scholar and rhetorician Libanius (314–92) reported that the three law schools, which attracted young students from affluent families, deplored the instructional use of Latin and this was gradually abandoned in favour of Greek in the course of the fourth century (Clark 2011: 36; Collinet 1925: 39). The revived *Corpus Juris Civilis* became the foundation of many civil law jurisdictions and influenced the *canon* (Greek: *κανών*) law of the Catholic Church as well as Arabic *qanun* (law), which in the late Middle Ages and early modern period referred to laws established by Muslim sultans[4] and governors. This work will describe the advanced law colleges of Byzantine Caesarea-Paelestina and

Berytos in the early sixth century and the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian and the Islamic law colleges of medieval Jerusalem.

This work will also show how the roots of the medieval Islamic scholastic method found in the advanced law *madrasas* of Jerusalem were embedded not in a pure legal theory but in a practical tradition. In Mamluk and early Ottoman Jerusalem the roles of *scholar-author-jurist and judge* and *head of madrasa* were not mutually exclusive. A *jurist-author* could lead a teaching circle, conduct an Islamic *fatwa* (ruling) session on a point of Islamic law and adjudicate court cases as well as devote time to writing legal treatises. This volume will show how legal education and the judicial system were central to advanced learning practices, urban power and the functioning of administration not only in Palestine but the whole ancient 'Near East'. In Byzantine, Mamluk and early Ottoman Palestine, legal education and advanced education (both civil and religious law) became important parts of securing employment in the state bureaucracy and court system.

Ancient Libraries versus Modern Libraries in Palestine

Libraries (ancient, medieval and modern) have been major centres of learning and intellectual activities in Palestine, while scriptoria were an important feature of educational activities and literary and manuscript production in the monasteries of Palestine in the Middle Ages. In addition to discussing the role of royal, private and personal libraries, this book will describe and explore the evolutionary contribution of major pre-modern and modern libraries in the country across a period of two millennia from late antiquity until the modern era. These include:

- the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina (late antiquity);
- the scriptorium (library) of Mar Saba monastery (Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine);
- the scriptorium of Marda monastery (medieval times);
- the Latin library of Nazareth (medieval times);
- the library of the al-Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre (early modern Islamic);
- Al-Aqsa library (Islamic medieval and modern); and
- Al-Khalidiyya library of Jerusalem (since the late Ottoman period).

Both the library of Mar Saba monastery throughout early Islam and the chapter libraries of Nazareth, Jerusalem and Acre (during the two Latin Crusader kingdoms in Palestine of the twelfth to the thirteenth century) have all been referred to as *scriptoria* (literally 'places for writing'), a term also commonly used to refer to a monastic space in Byzantine Palestine and European monastic Latin institutions devoted to the writing, calligraphy, copying and illuminating of manuscripts carried out by a distinctive social group of monks and monastic scribes whose main responsibility was guardianship of the written religious

literature, law and liturgy. But this *scriptorium* tradition drew on earlier ancient and classical traditions (and medieval Islamic traditions) in which major libraries were not only repositories of manuscripts and books but also centres of learning where important literary works were created and translated, and centres which also produced and corrected books on a regular basis. From the sixth century onwards monks and monastic scribes working within the literate scholastic tradition of the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba copied and illuminated texts of the Greek Bible. Interestingly, highlighting the initial words of the text to assist in its recitation was a feature common to medieval Arabic and Coptic Christian manuscripts (Hunt 1994: 239). At the same time in Europe monastic institutions began copying and illuminating Jerome's Latin *Vulgate Bible* – a work that Saint Jerome produced in the fifth century while working in the great Library of Caesarea-Maritima of late antiquity. Also, the great Palestinian libraries of Caesarea-Maritima and Mar Saba monastery, in late antiquity and early Islam respectively, were not just repositories of books and manuscripts but also places where many highly original, sophisticated and encyclopaedic works of religious literature, philosophy, medicine, theology, law, geography and history were created.

Emotional Literacy: Poetry, Hymn Writing, Music and Learning Practices in Palestine

The *kontakion* (Greek: *κοντάκιον*) was a Syriac form of poetry and hymn which flourished in Byzantine Palestine and Syria in the sixth century. The word *hymn* derives from Greek *ὕμνος* (*hymnos*), which means 'a song of praise'; a writer of hymns is known as a hymnist, hymnodist and hymnographer. Of particular importance to the religious poetry and hymns of ancient Palestine and to the evolution of chanting prayers in Judaism and Christianity is the book of Psalms (Hebrew: *Tehillim*: 'praises'; Arabic: *Mazamir*), one of the books of the Old Testament. The name *Psalms* derived from the Greek *psalmoi* (*ψαλμοί*), which means 'instrumental music' and, by extension, the words accompanying the music (Murphy 1993: 626). Sacred poetry and hymns survived from antiquity and some of the oldest surviving examples of hymns, apart from the Psalms from Judaism, are the notated music and Christian sacred hymns (Arabic sing: *tarnima* or *tasbiha*) with Greek and Arabic texts from Palestine. The Arabic phrases *subhan al-Allah* and *al-Hamdu lil-Allah*, 'praise be to God', are frequently and commonly used by Muslim and Christian Arabs due to their centrality to the texts of the Quran, Hadith and New Testament. Joint bilingual modern sacred musical creation (by Muslims and Greek Orthodox Christians) of homage to Jesus and Mary (of the New Testament and the Quran) involving Greek Orthodox liturgical choirs from Athens, and Arab *munshids* (singers) from Syria, Lebanon and Palestine are also found. This study will explore the shared heritage and multilayered and rich musical traditions of Palestine (ancient, medieval, modern, secular and religious).

It will show the *continuum* (and reject the *dichotomies*) of religious and secular musical learning in Palestine.

The study will also show the centrality of music to the classical education of ancient Palestine, beginning with cosmopolitan Roman Nablus ('Neapolis in Palestine') and Byzantine Gaza (third to sixth century AD). Excellence in many branches of learning, musical literacy, poetry and hymnography (hymn writing) characterized the outward-looking monasteries of Palestine in the Middle Ages, especially throughout early Islam. The immense intellectual contributions of Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Khaldun and other towering scholars of classical Islam are widely recognized by Arab and Muslim historians. This book will explore the less recognized, yet lasting, impact on scholarly music of the educational and musical philosophies of Yahya al-Dimashqi and other scholars, poet-singers of Palestinian monasticism, on the literature, music and scholarship of classical Islam, especially from al-Farabi from the tenth century onwards. In the modern period musical literacy (and revivalist musical education in schools) also became central to human autonomy and the modern critically engaged innovative programmes of Palestinian pedagogue Khalil Sakakini, the critical cultural theories of the late Edward Said, who was Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University and for many years the classical music critic of *The Nation* magazine in New York, as well as the musical poetry of Mahmoud Darwish. Said was the nearest thing Palestine had to a radical and cosmopolitan public intellectual and moral critic.

In my 2018 book *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* I explore the multilayered histories of Palestine and show the advantages of the application of the *longue durée* approach to the long history of the country. Inspired by the French Annales School of historical writing, the approach gives priority to the long-term gradual, cumulative and multilayered evolution of the historical, social and cultural structures in Palestine, as opposed to a fragmented approach to history or what supporters of the Annales School describe as the *histoire événementielle* (events-based history), the short-term 'events', which is the domain of chroniclers and many journalists-turned-historians. Indeed, this *longue durée* approach is particularly justified in view of the multilayered cultural and religious saturation of the country, not only in landmark mosques, churches and synagogues but also in scholarship, historic schools, colleges, cities of learning, amphitheatres, famous international libraries, monasteries of learning and archival centres; these are explored in their historical contexts in this book. This *longue durée* approach also brings together for the first time multiple historical periods of cultural and intellectual developments across millennia. This detailed account produces an intellectual history that is not fragmented or made of disconnected historical periods of educational excellence in Palestine, but rather presents a narrative of cumulative and incremental intellectual developments in the country. As a result, this multifaceted account transforms the orientations of scholarly research on Palestine and propels the current historical knowledge on education and literacy in Palestine to new heights.

1 LITERACY AND FUNCTIONALITY: THE SCRIBAL SCHOOLS OF ANCIENT PALESTINE

Cuneiform Writing: Functional Literacy, Scribal Schools and Practical Skills

Early ancient pictorial writing began 5,000 years ago in the Fertile Crescent, with ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt at its centre – the region, which included Palestine, known as the 'cradle of civilizations', has been associated with settled farming and domesticated crops for the past 12,000 years. However, the early experiments in literacy and numeracy in combination with the first professional scribal schools emerged in the urban centres of Sumer at the beginning of the third millennium BC, with a considerable number of school textbooks dating from about 2500 BC (Kramer [1956] 1981: 3–4; Taha 2018). 'The Sumerian school system was the direct outgrowth of the invention and development of the cuneiform system of writing' (Goody 1993: 182). This stage of the cuneiform system of writing was characterized by 'functional literacy' of which most of the writing was done by professional scribes trained at professional scribal schools (Finkel and Taylor 2015: 24–32). The large urban centres and city-states of Sumer were the earliest known civilization of southern Mesopotamia, modern-day southern Iraq, and the Sumerian language remained as a sacerdotal language taught in scribal schools in Babylonia and Assyria. The Sumerian scholars were among the first mathematicians and astronomers, mapping the stars into sets of constellations, and the Sumerian scholars developed the first known codified legal and administrative systems, complete with government records. The first city-states of Sumer were roughly contemporaneous with similar city-states in what became known as Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. The Sumerian scribal school was

the direct outgrowth of the invention and development of the cuneiform system of writing, Sumer's most significant contribution to civilization (Kramer [1956] 1981: 3). The urban centres of ancient Palestine, like those of Mesopotamia and Egypt, provided some of the early sites of scribal schools and learning centres in the ancient 'Near East'.[1]

While papyri collections and paper books and scroll manuscripts could easily be destroyed by fire, ancient clay tablets were baked hard, making them among the best-preserved documents from the ancient Near East. Clay tablets were 'most commonly used in Palestine for literacy and writing purposes in the fifteenth and early fourteenth century' BC (Albright 1942: 28). Archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Tell Balata, ancient Shikmu, near Nablus, and other important urban centres in Palestine[2] (including Tell al-Hesi, Megiddo, Gezer and Jell al-Sultan/ancient Jericho, the latter being the most long-lived human settlement in the ancient Near East) dated to 1400 BC, together with Sumerian tablets from Iraq, show notes written on clay tablets – often found in royal palaces and aristocratic dwellings rather than in the dwellings of ordinary people (28) or the Palestinian peasantry – by teachers to students as well as large numbers of exercise tablets performed by pupils at early scribal schools in the country (28–31; Taha 2018).

Pre-modern royal and aristocratic families in many societies tended to educate their children at home, but the Sumerian professional scribal schools and the development of group literacy and scribal schooling in Palestine and the ancient Near East, in which education was dominated by the aristocracy, were much in evidence and widespread. Ancient youth instruction took several years and progressed from elementary to advanced levels. The Sumerian curricula concentrated on literacy and the law – copying, imitating and studying large collections of legal and literary texts and epics – and included the study of hundreds of cuneiform signs (cuneiform means simply 'wedge-shaped'). The curricula included the memorization of literary texts and epic poems such as the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, named after the king of the Sumerian city-state of Uruk. The story in this great work of literature, written in the Semitic Akkadian language during the late second millennium BC, tells of an ancient king, Gilgamesh, in search of immortality, which he fails to find. Elementary-level pupils had to learn the basic skills of preparing their pictographic clay tablets, memorize cuneiform documents and copy texts, whereas at more advanced levels the curriculum encouraged a degree of specialization: students practised copying text and literary sources and studied textbooks in arithmetic and practical skills as well as studying subjects such as law, music and dance. 'Examinations were given in a variety of topics, calligraphy, grammar, translation, vocabulary, phonetics, epigraphy, as well as for special studies in accountancy' (Goody 1993: 183). Just as with modern-day educational specialism, scribal schooling enabled graduate pupils/students to be employed as professional royal scribes and temple administrators or accountants as well as to take up positions in the civil-administrative, military, diplomatic service and commercial sectors (Kramer [1956] 1981: 3–5; Taha 2018).

Early archival and library collections were produced in clay-tablet form and kept at royal palaces or Houses of Tablets. Thirty libraries, or Houses of Tablets, dating to 1000 to 300 BC, have been uncovered in Mesopotamia, including fifteen libraries from the Neo-Assyrian cities of Assur, Kalhu, Dur Sarukin, Neniveh and Huzirina (Galli 2016: 111). The Library of Ashurbanipal, king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire from 668 BC to *c*. 627 BC, is a significant collection of over 30,000 clay-tablet cuneiform documents, which was kept at the royal palace at Nineveh, and is now held in the British Museum, London. However, later, from 800 to 300 BC, archival and library and manuscript collections in Palestine were produced on perishable writing materials such as papyrus, leather and *ostraca* rather than clay tablet, and only a few remains of these archives have been uncovered (111).

Cuneiform clay tablets and Sumerian literature were widely known in the ancient cultures of Palestine and Syria, and cultural borrowing and trade and diplomatic links between the three countries – Mesopotamia (and Babylonia), Syria and Palestine – were always strong. Copies of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* were found at Megiddo (Palestine), Emar (Ugarit, Syria) and Boghazkoy (Turkey) (Kovacs 1989: xxxiii; Mason 2003: 118; Tigay 2002: 119). At Megiddo (a powerful city-state in Palestine in the middle Bronze Age, with regional diplomatic connections), a piece of the text of Enkidu's death, probably 'a scribal practice tablet' and part of classroom training from a scribal school in the city, was found (Kovacs 1989: xxxiii). The teaching of this Babylonian epic poem, written in Akkadian during the late second millennium BC (with versions found in Old Babylonian) in the scribal schools of Bronze Age Palestine, shows how the earliest surviving great works of literature (Tigay 2002: 42) were not only available in ancient Palestine but were also part of the wider shared literary cultures of the Fertile Crescent.

This shared culture and the history of literacy were advanced by scribal literacy and the knowledge of literary languages which became functionally and professionally important to international diplomacy. Knowledge of Akkadian (Sumerian) became vital when it became the language of international diplomacy of the Fertile Crescent in the fourteenth century BC. Akkadian is closely related to pre-classical old Arabic or proto-Arabic (also known as 'Akkadian Arabic') (Abulhab 2013: 144).

Evidence of Shared Experiences by Students and Teachers

Education and literacy are often studied normatively and institutionally, with little attention to the everyday (quotidian) and shared experiences of students and teachers. Also, most studies of education focus on socioeconomic structures, institutions and formal curricula, while the human factor and, crucially, the experiences of students, teachers and educational administrators remain hidden. However, autobiographies, memoirs and diaries often give us some insights into

how classroom practices were experienced by teachers and students. The following composition of 'day scribal school' created by a Sumerian teacher and involving the 'Tablet House', written in the form of a dialogue and a diary of a pupil, gives us a glimpse into the classroom experiences. It begins with a direct question to the student:

- O son of the Tablet House, where did you go from the earliest days?
- I went to the Tablet House.
- What did you do in the Tablet House?

  I recited my tablet, I ate my lunch, and then I prepare my new tablet, and set it up, write it, finished it, and in the afternoon, they assigned me housework.

  I returned what I wrote.

  When the Tablet House was dismissed, I returned home, entered the house, and found my father sitting there.

  I told my father of my homework, then recited my tablet to him, and my father was delighted…

  The next day I got up early, looked at my mother and said to her: Give me my lunch, my mother gave me two rolls and I went to school.

  In the Tablet house, the guard said to me, Why are you late?

  I felt scared, and my heart beat.

  Then I appeared in front of my teacher and made a respectful curtsy.

(Kramer [1956] 1981: 10–11; Taha 2018)

The city-states of ancient Palestine were smaller than those of ancient Mesopotamia and scribal schools in Palestine, like Sumerian youth education, were relatively costly; group education was neither universal nor compulsory. Most of the students came from wealthy urban families and they were all male (Goody 1993: 183), not from families of ordinary people; the headteacher was called 'school father' (183) and teachers were generally paid, mostly out of tuition fees collected from the students (Kramer 1981: 5; Albright 1942: 28–31). An interesting tablet letter by a Tell Balata teacher to the prince of Shikmu in Palestine, discovered by Dutch archaeologists Ernest Sellin and Franz Bohl in 1926, dated to the late Bronze Age (*c.* 1400 BC), states:

From three years ago until now thou has had me paid
Is there no grain nor oil nor wine
What is my offence that thou hast not paid
The children who are with me
Continue to learn
Their father and mother
Every day alike
Am am i

[…….Interruption in the text]
Now
Whatever
At the disposal of my – unto me
And let him inform me

(quoted in Albright 1942: 28–31; Sellin 1926)

Hellenization and Syncretic Education in Late Antiquity in Palestine

From the late Bronze Age through the Iron Age (*c*. 1200–600 BC) and antiquity, Palestine absorbed a range of outside influences as well as diverse cultural literary traditions, including Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian and Hellenistic; thus, schooling in urban Palestine often reflected these influences, together with evolving indigenous cultural and social influences and requirements.

The gradual linguistic Hellenization of literacy and education in Palestine did not mean that the cultures and peoples of the country changed entirely. It meant Palestine adopted and adapted aspects of Hellenization, which produced a combination of educational traditions; this phenomenon can be described as syncretic education. Syncretism was closely associated with the Hellenization of the urban elites, and cosmopolitanism started long before the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great in 332 BC. After Alexander's death, Palestine came under the control of the Greek dynasties of the Ptolemys; these elites ruled from Egypt. Palestine later fell to the Seleucid kings of Asia and remained part of the Hellenized eastern Mediterranean region. With the acceleration of Hellenization, Koine Greek's introduction into Palestine made it a dominant urban elite language that was spoken and written during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. Koine Greek had evolved from the spread of Greek following the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC and had served as the lingua franca of much of the education and trade of the eastern Mediterranean region and the ancient 'Near East' in the course of the following centuries.

Greek and Jewish Secular Hellenistic Education: Josephus and Philo of Alexandria

There is a typical misconception that 'secular education' is a modern invention, while 'religious education' is deeply rooted in the ancient past. In fact, both religious and secular education (including the teaching of secular subjects,

secular sciences and secular philosophies) are deeply rooted in ancient history and classical education. The extent of the secular Hellenization of education in Palestine's urban centres and their urban elites, and the intellectual interaction of these urban elites with the ancient world-famous centres of learning and 'academies' of Athens and Alexandria in antiquity, were reflected in the life and works of Antiochus of Ascalon (130–68/67 BC) as well as in the classical texts of elite Jewish historians and philosophers such as Josephus (AD 37–*c*. 100; Hebrew: Yosef ben Matityahu), born in Jerusalem to a priestly family, and Philo of Alexandria (*c*. 25 BC–AD *c*. 50; Hebrew: Yedidia HaCohen; 'Philo Judaeus'), a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher and a contemporary of Jesus who lived in the Roman province of Egypt and became the most important representative of secular Hellenistic Judaism and the educated Hellenized Jewish elite of Roman Alexandria (Koskenniemi 2019). Philo used rational secular philosophy and philosophical allegory and symbolism – instead of literalist interpretations – to reconcile the Torah with Greek philosophy. This rational approach can also be found later in the Arabic and Islamic traditions of Aristotelian logic, philosophy (*falsafa*) and the works of the Arab-Jewish rational philosopher Moses Maimonides (Ibn Maimun [1138–1204]). Logos (*Λόγος*), a term used in classical philosophy and rhetoric, is derived from the Greek for 'word', 'reason', argument and 'discourse'. Fluent in rational Greek philosophy rather than Aramaic or Hebrew and writing for mixed audiences (Jews and non-Jews), Philo's rational Hellenistic learning practices and syncretic approach were important to the Christian School of Alexandria, the first Christian institution of higher learning, founded in the mid-second century AD in Alexandria, Egypt, and early Christian Hellenistic higher learning in Palestine and the development of the rational Christian doctrine of the *Logos* by Justin of Neapolis (Nablus) and Origen in Caesarea-Palaestina in the second and third centuries AD respectively, but Philo's work had very little reception within Rabbinic Judaism (Hiller n.d.). But Philo was representative of the highly educated elite of the Alexandrian Jewish community and in AD 39–40 he headed the delegation of the Alexandrian Jewish community to the Roman Emperor Gaius following civil strife between the Alexandrian Jewish and Greek communities (Hiller n.d.).

While Philo's syncretic work of blending Jewish and Platonic ideas was overall representative of the 'Alexandrian School' – a collective designation for the various currents of Greek literature, philosophy and sciences developed in Alexandria during the Ptolemaic and Roman period – Antiochus of Ascalon represented the rational classical Hellenistic Academy of Athens and the formal, structured Platonic New Academy. In contrast to Antiochus' formal education, Josephus was apparently home tutored. Josephus' classic works include *The Jewish War* (1981) and the *Antiquities of the Jews* (2004). In the latter, Josephus writes that in first-century AD Roman Palestine it was Greek historians and geographers – not the Romans – who first called the country Palestine (Josephus 2006: 19, 27;

Masalha 2018: 11, 48). His works include material about individuals, groups, customs and place names in Palestine. Josephus almost never refers to Torah-authority Jewish scribes as 'scribes'; instead he refers to them as sophists and elders. Similarly, Josephus refers to Jewish 'sects' (a loaded term) as philosophies or intellectual schools.

The Jewish contribution to the secular Hellenistic traditions of learning in ancient Palestine and to the multifaith, cultural heterogeneity and pluralist heritage of the ancient history of Palestine can hardly be overstated (Masalha 2018). The cultural heterogeneity of ancient Palestine, its hybrid education and its remarkable cultural and religious pluralism are evident in the privileged personal schooling of Hellenized Jewish elites in Palestine and the well-known Greek-language works of Josephus. Moreover, the general Hellenization of elite education in Palestine during the early Roman period was characterized by a great deal of cultural diversity and eclecticism as well as a combination of the local traditional education with the wider and more sophisticated secular Hellenistic Jewish education. In her study *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (2001), Catherine Hezser explores Jewish education and schools, Jewish religious interest in writing and books, the availability and costs of writing materials, the existence of archives and libraries, and the question of multilingualism. Hezser also argues that Jewish literacy in Palestine was around 3 per cent, largely located in urban centres, with writing being used almost exclusively by the social, economic, political and religious elites, and was influenced by Greek education and Greco-Roman writings. Born in Jerusalem in AD 37 and educated in his native city, Josephus was a Jewish priest of royal descent and Pharisaic (sect) persuasion. After the defeat of the anti-Roman Jewish revolt of AD 66–73, he became a Roman citizen and spent the second half of his life in Rome, where, still a Jew, he devoted himself largely to writing historical works on Jewish subjects in Greek. Being of aristocratic background, it is not clear whether the young Josephus was taught at home or at school (Rajak 2002: 27). Josephus himself reports that he excelled in early traditional Talmudic education – 'Talmud' translates to 'learning, studying and teaching' – which included studying Hebrew and Aramaic texts. After the age of sixteen, like the children of Jewish aristocratic families in Palestine, he switched to a wider Greek framework of education (37–47). Reflecting on his schooling in Jerusalem, Josephus had this to say:

> Educated together with Mattathias, my full brother by both parents, I progressed to an advanced level of education and was regarded as being first class in memory and perceptiveness. While I was still a mere boy, aged about fourteen, I was praised by all for my love of letters, and the high priests and leading men of the city used to come to me to gain more accurate knowledge of some point related to the laws.
>
> (quoted in Rajak 2002: 26)

Aramaic Jewish Talmudic Learning: The Great Yeshiva of Yavne (Yubna) in Roman and Byzantine Palestine

But if Greek was the lingua franca of the highly educated elites in urban Roman Palestine and the language of the urban authors of the New Testament, Aramaic was the lingua franca of ordinary people, Jews included, especially in the countryside. Archaeological finds and inscriptions suggest the importance of Aramaic in Palestine in general and in Galilee in particular. Aramaic (Syriac), the language of Jesus of Nazareth, then a rural village, became an important part of the lingua franca of ordinary people in the early Roman period and the language of basic religious education:

> It also suggests a modicum of literacy [by craftsmen] or at least the desire to achieve it on a rudimentary level… thus making it probable that an artisan like Jesus had some literary training and ability.
>
> (Eshel and Edwards 2004: 54)

In addition to elite Jewish education under the Romans and the urban upper-class Hellenistic literature of Josephus and Philo of Alexandria, much of advanced Jewish learning in Roman Palestine focused on elite religious literature and Talmudic learning, mostly in Aramaic, with its emphasis on Jewish religious law (*halacha*). Talmud translates as 'instruction' and 'learning', and the dominant Talmud was the Babylonian (Iraqi) Talmud. However, Talmudic *yeshivot*, the guardians of the written religious law and liturgy, also flourished in the Roman province of 'Syria Palaestina' and later in the Byzantine provinces of Palestine. The famous elite Jewish *yeshiva* in Byzantine Palestine was in Yavne (Arabic: Yubna) – known during Greco-Roman times as Jamnia (Greek: *Ἰαμνία Iamnía*) – which served as the centre for Jewish scholarship and the development of Jewish law. Yavne also became a fertile ground for liturgical and biblical literature and the translation of Talmudic literature and religious texts from Aramaic into Greek. In the seventh century Yubna (Yavne) – whose population became a mixture of Muslim Arabs, Christian Arabs, Samaritans and Arab Jews – remained an important town under Islam and became the initial and temporary capital of the Arab province of Palestine (*Jund Filastin*) (Masalha 2018: 151–88). The Arab-Byzantine coinage of the Arab province of Palestine was minted in Yubna, Jerusalem and Lydda (Goodwin 2004). The Palestinian Arab town of Yubna was depopulated and destroyed by Israel in 1948. In the British Academy's *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* the *maqam* (mausoleum) of Abu Hurayra in Yubna, constructed by the Mamluks in the post-crusade period, was described as 'one of the finest domed mausoleums in Palestine' (Petersen 2001: 313).

Antiochus of Ascalon: A Founder of a Middle Platonist Academy

Josephus' Judaic-Hellenistic schooling was typically aristocratic. But the development of group education and more sophisticated 'academies' of advanced education in the eastern Mediterranean, in which education was previously reserved largely for the aristocracy, began to spread to other 'middle-class' citizens during classical antiquity. This development of group schooling and 'academies' can also be seen in the 'academic career' of Antiochus of Ascalon. A founder of Middle Platonism and by far the most distinguished Palestinian academic and educator of the Roman era, Antiochus pursued creative educational eclecticism and an epistemological theory that combined an ethical theory with Stoic, Aristotelian and Platonic elements. Born and initially educated in the flourishing Palestinian city of Ascalon (Arabic: Asqalan; known during the Byzantine era as 'Maiumas Ascalon': 'Ascalon by the sea') on the Mediterranean coast, with its relaxed culturally diverse and Hellenistic environment, Antiochus' compatriot Sosus of Ascalon, a Stoic, played an important part in his philosophical education (Sedley 2012: 11). Antiochus was the epitome of the Hellenistic academic scholar/*scholarch*. He moved to Athens – at the time still the centre of teaching and learning practices – around 110 BC and became a member of the Academy (*Ἀκαδημία*), the then world-famous school founded by Plato in the fourth century as a school outside the city walls of ancient Athens. The curriculum at the Platonic Academy included mathematics as well as the philosophical topics with which the Platonic dialogues deal and there is some evidence for scientific research and for some women being schooled in the Academy. Aristotle (384–322 BC) studied in Plato's Academy for twenty years (367–347 BC) before founding his own school, the Lyceum. Antiochus became an eminent Platonic academic and educator and exerted an influence on members of the Roman governing elite, including Cicero, who studied with Antiochus in Athens in 79 BC. The Platonic Academy persisted throughout the Hellenistic period as a sceptical school until the death of Philo of Larissa in 83 BC. Antiochus was a pupil of Philo of Larisa and succeeded him as headteacher (*scholarch*) of the New Academy. But after the death of Philo, Antiochus reoriented the Platonic Academy from its original tradition as a sceptical school (about the possibility and certainty of knowledge) by advocating the combination of eclecticism among the Platonists and by combining a mix of rich Hellenistic schools: Stoicism and peripatetic philosophies and Platonism; thus began a new phase in the history of the Platonic Academy known as Middle Platonism. By expanding the curriculum of the Platonic Academy from its original radical scepticism about the possibility of knowledge, Antiochus of Ascalon transformed the Academy into a more complex institution with a diverse curriculum. He, perhaps inadvertently, revolutionized and diversified academic life and introduced the concept that a single academic institution should teach

a diverse mix of schools of thought, without necessarily adhering to a single doctrine. This diversity of multiple schools and rich eclecticism is central to modern educational philosophies.

After his distinguished teaching career in the Platonic Academy in Athens, and founding his own school of philosophy and education, Antiochus of Ascalon travelled to Alexandria, by then a flourishing cosmopolitan centre of learning rivalling Athens. By then he was advocating 'the possibility of knowledge, thus reversing the sceptical tradition of the original Platonic Academy' (Sedley 2012: 3). He also attempted to reconcile the principles of Platonic epistemology with those of the Stoics, and in 87/86 BC he went on a mission to Alexandria and the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire to spread his ideas (Gerson 2005: 42). Antiochus' school of philosophical education, especially Antiochian epistemology and ethics, had 'a considerable impact among the Romans of his day', Cicero included (Sedley 2012: 4); 'Antiochus' influence at Alexandria was also considerable' (5). However, there is no evidence to suggest that Antiochus went back to teach in his native Ascalon. Nevertheless, half a millennium after he led the Platonic academies of Athens and Alexandria, another Greek-speaking Palestinian city on the Mediterranean coast, only twenty kilometres to the south of Ascalon, would replace both Athens and Alexandria as the most important centre of classicizing (teaching and learning) practices in the eastern Mediterranean region.

There is no evidence that Antiochus ever came back to teach in his home city Ascalon; in the first century BC the urban centres of Palestine had elementary education but no higher education provision, and Palestinian students sought higher learning in Athens and Alexandria. This situation was to change dramatically in late antiquity (fourth to sixth century AD) during which period the 'classical' advanced and higher educational academies of Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina attracted both international fame and local and foreign students.

2 CITIES OF LEARNING: THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTIONS OF BYZANTINE PALESTINE (THIRD TO EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY)

> Schools can be traced at Alexandria, Antioch, Athens, Beirut, Constantinople and Gaza; they were in effect the universities of the ancient world. They varied in character and importance: at Alexandria Aristotle was one of the main topics of study; the chief subject at Beirut was law. The need for such institutions was created by a vast increase in the Roman [Byzantine] civil service in the fourth century. The government required administration of liberal education and good prose style.
>
> (Goody 2006: 223)

Higher Learning from Alexandria to Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza

Second only to the great Library of Alexandria, the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina was one of the most important libraries of late antiquity, widely known for its papyri collections of classical philosophical, historical and ecclesiastical sources and Greek literature as well as Christian and Jewish works (Carriker 2003: XIII). Like the great Library of Alexandria, the library of *Metropolis Palaestinae* (Caesarea) was not just a major repository of books but also a major centre of learning and knowledge dissemination in Byzantine Palestine, where new works were created, manuscripts were translated and annotated, and books were produced and disseminated.

Much of the Western scholarship on Caesarea-Palaestina (Caesarea-Maritima) and its famous library deals with the subject from the viewpoint of Latin sources and the construction of an empire-based Christian identity by the founding fathers of the Church rather than from indigenous perspectives or any genuine interest in the indigenous history and autonomous agency of Palestine.

In late antiquity the two most advanced and most literate cities of Palestine were coastal Mediterranean cities: Caesarea-Palaestina, the capital of Byzantine Palestine, and Gaza. They were at the centre of the economically prosperous Byzantine Palestine; the two cities were economically, culturally and intellectually the most dynamic cities in the country. They also became major centres of education and the intellectual renaissance in late antiquity. Advanced public education in Byzantine Palestine was represented by the philosophical School of Gaza, the law school of Caesarea-Palaestina and the Library of Caesarea-Maritima, the latter being the most extensive ecclesiastical library of late antiquity. Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina, in particular, were effectively the dominant political and cultural centres of Byzantine Palestine. The latter was also the headquarters of the Dux Palaestinae, the military commander of all Palestine (the 'Three Palestines'). Under the Byzantines, the 'Three Palestine' provinces had a great deal of religious and cultural autonomy and the All Palestine Church of Jerusalem achieved independence from the Churches of both Antioch and Constantinople. Palestine was not only one of the most economically prosperous countries in the Mediterranean region, but also – with the highly influential Mediterranean learning centres of Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina and the architectural and urban planning work of Julian of Ascalon – one of the most important centres of learning and intellectual activity in late antiquity; in effect, Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza superseded and replaced both Athens and Alexandria as the premier centres of learning for the whole Mediterranean region. Caesarea-Palaestina also had a college of law in the early sixth century. However, the reputation of Caesarea-Palaestina as an intellectual centre of Christian scholars soared from the third to the sixth century as the city, together with Gaza, effectively replaced Alexandria as the most important centre of study in the eastern Mediterranean. This high reputation of Caesarea was in large measure due to its famous library.

Furthermore, within the Byzantine provincial system of administration, in the fourth to the early seventh century AD, large parts of the 'Three Palestines' were settled by the Ghassanid Arab population that immigrated from Arabia; the Palestine ecclesia integrated these Ghassanid Arabs, and large parts of these provinces were gradually transformed in the fifth to the sixth century into Ghassanid Arab *phylarchates*, or 'frontier kingdoms', under Byzantine patronage and indirect imperial control. Ghassanid influence on Byzantine Palestine lasted for centuries, and their Christian Arab kings (*phylarchs*) reigned until the Islamic conquest of Palestine in the seventh century.

Palestine created great learning centres in metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities such as Caesarea-Maritima and Gaza (under the Romans and Byzantines) and

Jerusalem (under Islam) but no 'imperial' capital cities. Unlike the great learning centres of the ancient world and neighbouring countries – Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran, which created powerful empires and great 'imperial capital cities', and whose great urban centres and libraries were shaped by the needs of powerful empires – the learning centres and 'learning cities' of Palestine (and the country's economic prosperity) were shaped by Palestine's geopolitical location and its transit in international trade as well as by its international status as an important religious and cultural centre. As a Mediterranean country, strategically located between Asia, Africa and Europe, and between the Mediterranean and Red Seas, Palestine managed to flourish culturally and economically and achieve a degree of autonomy by relying largely on its soft power: its holy places and its academies and libraries and study centres, the most famous examples of which were the philosophical School of Gaza and the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina. Palestine's soft power was evident in its ability to accommodate multiculturalism and multilingualism; to integrate multiple social and cultural groups; and to synthesize successfully diverse traditions and a variety of styles which became central to its distinct identity.

Caesarea-Maritima was described in detail by the first-century Roman Jewish historian Josephus in his work *The Jewish War* (1981). As the headquarters of the Roman government in Palestine, Caesarea gradually became the largest and most important city in the country and the economic and political hub of Roman and Byzantine Palestine. Its predominance was elevated further after the Jewish Bar Kochba revolt and war, waged in the course of the later years of the Roman emperor Hadrian (AD 132–6). The city and its large harbour were extensively rebuilt by Hadrian, and in its heyday the city covered an urban area of nearly a thousand acres – almost five times the size of Aelia Capitolina. Praise for the splendour and physical attributes of Caesarea and other cities of Byzantine Palestine was common in Roman sources. Ammianus Marcellinus, a fourth-century Roman soldier and historian, born to a Greek-speaking pagan family in Syria or Phoenicia Maritima (modern Lebanon) – whose work was highly regarded by English historian Edward Gibbon – describes *Provincia Palaestina* in AD *c*. 380 as follows:

> The last region of the Syrias is Palestine, extending over a great extent of territory and abounding in cultivated and well-kept lands; it also has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line. These are Caesarea, which Herodes built in honour of the emperor Octavianus, Eleutheropolis [Beit Jibrin], and Neapolis [Nablus], along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age.
>
> (Ammianus Marcellinus [*c*. 380] 1935: bk XIV: 8, 11; quoted in Johnson 2000: 36)

From the early third century, Caesarea-Palaestina became the civil metropolis of Palestine, and later, when Palestine was divided into three provinces, it remained the capital of Palaestina Prima. In the third and fourth centuries the diverse

population of this pluralistic Mediterranean city included Greco-Roman citizens worshipping Greco-Roman deities, Samaritans, Greek- and Aramaic-speaking Jews (Donaldson 2000), Greek-speaking Christians, Aramaic-speaking Christians and Arab Christians.

The era of Christian-majority Byzantine Palestine (which refers to this geographic region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and various adjoining lands in Transjordan, Nabataea and former *Provincia Arabia*), with its coastal capital and metropolitan city of Caesarea-Palaestina, was an extraordinary time of cultural flourishing and of great urban expansion in late antiquity. New areas were brought under agricultural cultivation, urban development increased and the cities of greater Palestine, including Gaza, Neapolis (Nablus), Aelia Capitolina, Scythopolis (Beisan) and Caesarea-Maritima, grew considerably in population and the diverse population of greater Palestine may have reached as many as one and a half million. Also, monasteries proliferated throughout Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine. Interestingly, the Arabic term *Deir* (monastery) has been preserved in the prefixes of sixty-four modern Palestinian villages (Abu-Sitta 2020). Moreover, the earliest monasteries in Christianity outside of Egypt were built in Palestine during the Byzantine era, notably that of the Saint Hilarion monastery, one of Palestine's oldest Christian monuments, today located in the Gaza Strip. Under the Christian Byzantines a new era of numerous church and monastery buildings began in Palestine and streams of pilgrims from all over the empire brought prosperity to the monasteries of Palestine. At the centre of greater Palestine was the Byzantine province of Palaestina Prima. The country consisted of a mixed Greek- and Aramaic-speaking population, with minorities of Samaritans and Christian Arabs – the Ghassanids, who were the dominant group among the Monophysites and who believed in the single-nature doctrine of Jesus. Miaphysite Arabs, Aramaic-speaking Jews and Nabataean Arab communities were present as well. Throughout the sixth century and until the Arab Muslim conquest of AD 638, the Ghassanid Arab militiamen practically policed much of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Secunda (which included parts of Galilee) and Palaestina Tertia (which included the Naqab/Negev and Petra) and, together with Byzantine soldiers, defended and protected the holy sites in Palestine (Shahid 2009: 63–4).

The Louvre Museum in Paris exhibits a bronze bowl masterpiece created in the fourth century AD to commemorate the founding of Caesarea-Palaestina (Louvre n.d.). A flourishing Mediterranean seaport and later the metropolitan city of Palestine, the city's harbour rivalled Piraeus, the harbour of Athens (Barnes 1981: 81). The urban social space of Caesarea is of particular interest. By the third century, Caesarea, officially still polytheistic, had become a cosmopolitan, culturally and socially diverse metropolis, and the largest and most developed city in Roman Palestine; the city contained as many as 100,000 inhabitants of many ethnic and religious backgrounds (82). *Metropolis Palaestinae* (Caesarea) has been one of most extensively excavated areas of Byzantine Palestine (Avni 2014: 42).

Palestine of the third to the sixth century AD centred on Caesarea, the largest metropolitan city in the whole country:

> In the sixth century the city expanded further, beyond its walls, creating extramural quarters with spectacular residences. A large and wealthy agricultural hinterland expanded beyond the urban limits of Caesarea. This urban expansion reflects the constant growth of the urban population, which made Caesarea the largest city in Palestine.
>
> (Avni 2014: 42)

Metropolis Palaestinae (Caesarea-Maritima) became the home of the founding fathers of the Church and the seat of Christian intellectuals, secular classical scholars, missionaries and martyrs. Under the Romans, and more visibly under the Byzantines, Caesarea became not only the most powerful city in greater Palestine but also home to the metropolitan, predominantly Greek-speaking, cultural and political elites of the country. As a major centre of learning and scholarship in the eastern Mediterranean, it became home to outstanding scholars and theologians and some of the best historians and philosophers of late antiquity. This metropolitan cultural elite of the capital of Palestine included Eusebius of Caesarea-Maritima (AD 263–339) and Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima (AD *c*. 500–*c*. 554 at least, but possibly into the 560s; Lillington-Martin and Turquois 2017: 1), a Palestinian scholar from Palaestina Prima and the most important Greek-speaking historian of the sixth century. Caesarea-Maritima, one of the most important port cities in the Mediterranean, also became for many years the home of Origen (Origen Adamantius, AD 185–253), one of the most original, creative, influential and radical scholars and educators of the early Church (Braybrooke 2009: 25), and of several leading Palestinian Christian theologians who also sought to forge a distinct Palestinian Christian identity based on the unique position of Palestine. Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima had this to write about another compatriot Palestinian in AD 560: 'Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and moving among the men of Palestine, showing manifestly by the fact that he never sinned at all, and also by his performing even things impossible' (Prokopios 2005).

The Library of Caesarea-Palaestina and Origen's School

The first evidence of the Library at Caesarea-Maritima derives from a synodal letter that was drawn up somewhere in Palestine around AD 190 (Carriker 2003: 2). Theophilus, the Metropolitan Bishop of Caesarea-Maritima at the time, attended the council of the church and participated in the drafting of this letter (2). Saint Jerome (AD *c*. 347–420), who arrived in Palestine in the late fourth century, refers to this Library of Caesarea as Bibliotheca Origenis et Pamphili (the Library of Origen and Pamphilus) (Carriker 2003: XIII) – a library which at the time gained

an international reputation for having the most extensive ecclesiastical library of late antiquity, containing more than 30,000 papyri scrolls/manuscripts (Carriker 2003; Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 241; Patrich 2001a: 116).

> It included many secular books on Greek science, philosophy, history, drama, poetry, rhetoric etc., and compositions of Jewish Greek authors… Scribal work at Caesarea started already in the time of Origen, with the financial assistance of his companion Ambrose [of Alexandria (212–*c*. 250)]. Later its *scriptorium* was famous by its attentive works in producing copies of scriptures for the free use of scholars, disciples and pious women.
>
> (Patrich 2001a: 116)

Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (*On Illustrious Men*, 1999; n.d.), a Latin collection of brief biographies of 135 authors from early church history, written in the Palestinian town of Bethlehem in AD 392–3 (Booth 1981: 241; Jerome 1999) – says that Pamphilus

> transcribed the greater part of the works of Origen with his own hand and these are still preserved in the library of Cæsarea. I have twenty-five volumes of Commentaries of Origen written in his [Pamphilus'] hand… He wrote an *Apology for Origen* before Eusebius had written his and was put to death at Caesarea in Palestine in the persecution of [Emperor] Maximinus.
>
> (Jerome n.d.)

Jerome, a 'Father of the Church', used the library to produce the best-known of the translations of the Bible into Latin. Jerome wrote in Latin for Western audiences after later settling in the Palestinian city of Bethlehem (Treadgold 1997: 128). The Alexandrian intellectual Origen, who had settled in the Palestinian city of Caesarea-Maritima in the AD 230s and had become the greatest philosopher and theologian of this city, played a major role in expanding the collections and ancient books of the library, making it a great library of literature and scholarship (Carriker 2003: 3). A highly professional scholar of classical philosophy and literature, Origen was born and received his higher learning in Alexandria, then the great seat of intellectual culture, home of Greek philosophy and of the Great Library of Egypt, one of the largest and most important libraries of the ancient world. Cosmopolitan and polytheistic Alexandria was also the home of many higher educational schools and the big schools had their own large libraries (CopticChurch.net n.d.).

Jerome says that Origen went to Achaia in Greece on account of heresies which were worrying the churches there. His words are: 'Et propter ecclesias Achaiæ, quæ pluribus hæresibus vexabantur, sub testimonio ecclesiasticæ epistolæ Athenas per Palæstinam pergeret' (and for the churches of Achaia, with which many heresies grew throughout Palestine under the ecclesiastical head) (Pamphilius n.d.). Origen passed through Palestine on his way to Greece, and it was at this time that he was ordained a presbyter by Palestinian bishops.

Origen's encyclopaedic Hellenistic teaching methods were influenced by his training in catechism (*κατηχέω*, 'to teach orally') – a form of instruction in a question-and-answer format which was developed by early Christian philosophers and theologians in Alexandria. Before his arrival in Caesarea-Palaestina the celebrated Origen had already established his great reputation as a Dean of the Catechetical School of Alexandria – also known as the *Didascaleion* ('a place for instruction') until AD 231, an important higher learning institution of philosophical and theological learning and the oldest Catechetical school in the world (CopticChurch.net n.d.) – an institution which became influential in teaching *catechumens* ('instruction by word of mouth') of the Christian doctrine[1] and in many of the controversies of the early Christian Church. Origen was a student of Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–*c.* 215), the fifth dean of the Catechetical School of Alexandria (190–202). A convert to Christianity and a philosopher, as a 'Church Father' Clement was educated in classical Greek philosophy and literature, but he was influenced by Hellenistic philosophy to a greater extent than any other Christian thinker of his time; Clement's *Paedagogus* (*Παιδαγωγός*, 'Pedagogue'), which develops Christian ethics, was largely based on Roman pagan stoic teachings of the first century AD. Clement himself was a student of Theophilus, bishop of Caesarea-Palaestina (Jerome 1999; n.d.). Crucially, in the second century AD the *Didascaleion* was more of a Greek philosophical school than an orthodox Christian religious or ecclesiastical school: in fact, the school's unorthodox and encyclopaedic conception of teaching (CopticChurch.net n.d.) and its curricula were not confined to Christian theology and devotional literature. Secular subjects such as science, mathematics, philosophy and Aristotelian logic as well as Greek and Roman literature and the arts were central to its core teaching. Catechetical schooling, the question-and-answer method of commentary, was developed and popularized at this school, and, also importantly, more than fifteen centuries before the invention of the Braille literacy system – using writing with embossed paper – visually impaired and blind students at the Alexandrian school were already using shapes and wood-carving techniques to read and write – a technique of shapes which conceivably would have been used to teach visually impaired students at Origen's advanced school in Caesarea-Maritima.

On account of a great political tumult in Alexandria in the early AD 230s Origen left Egypt and went to live permanently in Caesarea-Maritima. However, the culturally relaxed and pluralistic tradition of Alexandrian education had a huge impact on his educational activities in Caesarea-Maritima. The highly advanced Alexandrian education had attracted both male and female students from affluent and middle-class families: Egyptian female students mingled with male students from Egypt, Palestine and other eastern Mediterranean countries. All came to attend the then famous advanced schools of Alexandria including the Catechetical *Didascaleion* of the city, which was headed by Origen, who first took over at the age of eighteen. Later, Eusebius of Caesarea-Maritima claimed that Origen as a young

man castrated himself, so as to be free to teach female *catechumens* (Braybrooke 2009: 25). But Origen had a Hellenistic education and Eusebius' account of Origen's life bears the marks of the exaggeration and embellishments of saints by subsequent Christian theologians. In fact, Origen himself, while residing in Palestine, denounced the fanaticism of those fundamentalist Christians who took literally the words of Jesus that 'there are those who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven' (25). Among the Palestinian students who attended the Catechetical *Didascaleion* of Alexandria was Julius Africanus (AD *c*. 160–*c*. 240), a native of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), who lived at the neighbouring town of Emmaus (Nicopolis)[2] and studied under Origen's assistant, Heraclas; later, as Bishop of Emmaus in around AD 240, he corresponded with Origen in Caesarea-Palaestina. Africanus' work on Palestinian geography was in the fourth century to influence the Christian school of chronology and the Palestine topography of Eusebius; he describes the renamed town of Emmaus in his *Chronicum* as 'Nicopolis in Palestine' (Julius Africanus 2012).

In the classical Hellenistic manner of schools, Origen appears in Caesarea-Palaestina as a *didaskalos* (*διδάσκαλον*), a master or professional teacher in charge of the education of children or adults and as someone who accepts fees for this instruction. The term *didaskalos* was also used for teachers at the renowned rhetorical School of Gaza in the fifth to the sixth century. Origen's fee-paying students and followers in Palestine and the surrounding countries were both Christians and pagans from affluent backgrounds: Egyptians, Greeks and Arabs, Hellenized Jews and Samaritans. Origen is also said to have visited *Provincia Arabia* three times, partly on teaching missions: around AD 215 and in 247 and 249 (Resto 2013). After making Caesarea-Paelestina his permanent residence, Origen corresponded with the emperor Philippus Arabs (Philip the Arab) (Jerome n.d.) in 244, a Roman emperor who 'hailed from Arabia' and was known to be sympathetic to Christianity and may have even converted to became a Christian Arab emperor by AD 244 (Shahid 1984b: 75). Origen was also invited to *Provincia Arabia* to give catechetical schooling to the pagan Roman governor of that region. *Provincia Arabia* (*Arabia Petraea*) was a frontier province under the Romans, beginning in the second century. With its capital in Petra, *Provincia Arabia* consisted of the former Arab Nabataea kingdom, southern Levant, including the Sinai Peninsula. Later under the Byzantines, *Provincia Arabia* became part of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Salutaris. Origen (like Roman geographers) divided the Arabian Peninsula into three parts – (Roman) *Provincia Arabia* (or *Arabia Petraea*); *Arabia Deserta*; and *Arabia Felix* (the Yemen; or *Eudaimon Arabia*[3]) – and identified the Edomites as Arabs (Resto 2013). In a commentary to Genesis 25, Origen writes about one of his visits to *Provincia Arabia*:

> From the sons of Khettoura many peoples arose who inhabit the desert of the Troglodytae, *Arabia eudaimon,* and that which stretches past Madianitis,

the town Madiam being situated beyond (hyper) *Arabia eudaimon*, opposite Pharan to the east of the Red Sea.

(Resto 2013: 16)

An avid collector of 'ancient books' on his incessant travels, Origen continued to expand the Library of Caesarea and provided Caesarea-Maritima with some of the cosmopolitan charisma and intellectual vigour of large cities such as Alexandria and Antioch. Caesarea became his fixed abode in AD 232. He also became a catalyst for the phenomenal rise of a Palestinized Greek-speaking cultural elite in the country – an elite which sought to articulate a distinct identity for Byzantine Palestine, an elite which made the cities of Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza two of the most important cities of classical antiquity. Palestinized Origen became a prolific Christian author, a philosopher of history and the 'Father of the Homilies' – and the first Christian theologian to distinguish between *logos* (in *sermon*) and *homilia* (*tractatus*; from the Greek: *ὁμιλία*, to have communion or hold verbal intercourse with a person) – speeches that follow a reading of scripture.

In Palestine Origen sought to replicate the unorthodox relaxed, pluralistic and cosmopolitan traditions of Hellenistic Alexandria, with its encyclopaedic learning and quality higher education – traditions which also enabled pagans, Hellenized Christians, Hellenized Jews, Hellenized Samaritans and Arabs, indigenous people and foreigners to learn together. His institutions in Caesarea included an advanced philosophical school (Carriker 2003: 30) and the much expanded Library of Caesarea-Palaestina. Furthermore, with the mixed social and cultural environment of Byzantine Palestine and the surrounding countries, there is good reason to assume that admittance to Origen's advanced school (*didascaleion*) of Caesarea-Palaestina was open to all male students regardless of their social and religious backgrounds and age. The most contemporary evidence about Origen's teaching methods in Caesarea-Maritima comes from his student Gregory Thaumaturgus (*c.* 213–270) (Thaumaturgus 1998: 10, 91–126), also known as Gregory of Neo-Caesarea (in Cappadocia), a Christian bishop of the third century who studied at the law college of Beirut, one of the most important higher learning schools in the Hellenistic and Roman world. Gregory's brother-in-law was then serving as legal counsel to the Roman Governor of Palestine, based at Caesarea-Maritima. Also Gregory had, on one occasion, to act as an escort to his sister in Caesarea-Maritima. On his arrival in Caesarea with his brother Athenodore, Gregory learned that the celebrated scholar Origen resided there. Curiosity led the two brothers to meet with and eventually study under Origen (Thaumaturgus 1998: 10–21, 91–126; Herbermann 1910: s.v. 'St. Gregory of Neocaesarea'). For seven years (from AD 231 to 238) Gregory studied under the great teacher. Gregory also describes the rhetoric, persuasive reasoning skills and passionate teaching methods employed by Origen. Before his departure from Palestine, Gregory, as a graduate of Origen's *didascaleion* in Caesarea-Maritima, delivered a 'thanksgiving' public address in the presence of Origen and his students, and in praise of his celebrated teacher. This public oration is interesting in many ways. As a rhetorical exercise, the public

speech was meant to demonstrate the effective teaching given to Gregory in Origen's *didascaleion* in Caesarea, as well as the skills acquired in the advanced education of Palestine. The address also contains a contemporary account of the educational approach and catechetical teaching methods in Origen's advanced *didascaleion* of Caesarea-Maritima. Gregory describes the encyclopaedic approach and the courses taught in the *didascaleion* of Caesarea – physics, mathematics, astronomy, logic, dialectic and various Hellenistic philosophical traditions, including sceptical and gnostic doctrines, Christian heterodox theology, *catechumens*, biblical exegesis and spirituality, and religious literature (Thaumaturgus 1998: 10–21, 91–126; Herbermann 1910: s.v. 'St. Gregory of Neocaesarea').

In Palestine Origen became what today would be described as a 'public intellectual' or a 'celebrity teacher'. But he was also the founder of higher learning in Caesarea-Maritima and his international scholarly fame attracted many international students to Caesarea-Maritima from neighbouring countries and beyond. Among the members of Origen's school were Theotecnus, later Bishop of Caesarea-Maritima in the late third century; Saint Firmilian (d. *c.* 269), Bishop of Caesarea-Cappadocia; and other Cappadocian bishops who visited him in Palestine and spent time in Origen's learning institutions (Jerome n.d.). Origen's advanced school, as described by Gregory Thaumaturgus, was based on the personal friendship between students and teacher. Like other philosophical schools of the time, its studies included natural sciences as well as the subjects of courage, temperance, prudence and justice (Berglund 2018: 218). Origen – a presbyter who may have been given 'an ecclesiastical building where his school and library were stored and he and his companions lived' (Carriker 2003: 30) – became known for composing seminal works on Christian Neoplatonism, including his famous treatise *On First Principles* (1966), a work which had a huge influence on Christian thought and modern Renaissance humanism. Origen wrote many exegetical and theological works, including *Hexapla* ('six-fold'),[4] while living in Caesarea-Maritima and working from its famous library. Origen's edition of the Greek Septuagint influenced the text of the Old Testament in a number of important manuscripts, including the *Codex Sinaiticus* (*Σιναϊτικός Κώδικας*), a fourth-century handwritten copy of the Greek Bible and one of the best Greek texts of the New Testament.

In around AD 250, during the reign of Emperor Decian, there were persecutions that specifically targeted Christian intellectuals; Origen was arrested and tortured; he survived and was released in 251, but died two years later. With more than 2,000 treatises in all branches of theology and Christian devotional literature, Origen's exceptional original output, before and after settling in Palestine, and *Origenism* (involving the teachings of Origen's followers) provoked Origenist crises and controversies in the Church in Palestine, Egypt and beyond, including accusations of heresy by some members of the church hierarchy. Later, when the leadership and various factions of Palestinian monks at Mar Saba monastery were active in theological disputes that seriously affected the fate of the Christian Church of

Palestine, the individuals were identified as dissident (free thinkers) 'Origenists' and 'anti-Origenists'.

The original edition of Origen's *Hexapla*, apparently about 6,000 pages (3,000 papyri sheets) in 15 volumes, seems to have been kept in the Library of Caesarea-Maritima for several centuries. However, in the sixth century the city of Caesarea suffered the effects of religious strife in Palestine, and later, in 614, the city suffered from the occupation of an invading Persian army and the resulting hardships – the Persians held the city until 628 (Carriker 2003: 28–9); the Persian army also destroyed the Nea church in Jerusalem in 614. However, the decline of higher education in Caesarea-Maritima had, in fact, begun earlier under the Byzantines, with the closure of the law school of Caesarea-Maritima by Emperor Justinian in 533; advanced education and the attraction of local and foreign students and scholars to the city of learning from the third to the fifth century AD had brought a great amount of income to the capital of Byzantine Palestine. Interestingly, until then the imperial capital Constantinople had never rivalled the great schools of late antiquity, such as Gaza, Beirut, Alexandria and Caesarea-Maritima – the remarkable florescence of learning practices in Constantinople began from the seventh century onwards. Also, Justinian was openly hostile to the heterodox theological and philosophical ideas attributed to the widespread intellectual legacy of the Origenists in Palestine and of Origen himself, who had been dead for nearly three centuries but whose legacy was still a hot question among Palestinian monks and throughout the internationally influential Palestinian monasteries of the desert in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Consequently, the decline of Caesarea as a premiere intellectual centre in Palestine was accelerated with the exodus of the Greek-speaking social and intellectual elites from the city following the Persian conquest (Holum 1996: 626–7). The city was finally captured by the Muslims in 640/641 after a lengthy and damaging siege lasting six to seven years. During this unusually long siege the city received support from the Byzantine navy (Donner 1981: 153–5). In *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (2003) James Carriker suggests:

> Just before and during the Arab conquest, many Greeks chose to withdraw from Palestine, and it is worth speculating that some wealthy citizens and churchmen of Caesarea took books from the library with them when they departed, perhaps even during the lengthy siege of the city. As a result, it seems unlikely that the library at Caesarea survived the vicissitudes of the seventh century, for if it was not destroyed altogether in the various conquests of Caesarea, its collections may have been gradually dispersed by both conquerors and the Caesarean elites who fled [with] them.
>
> (2003: 29)

However, the Library of Caesarea was not the only great library in Palestine during the Byzantine era. In fact, by the fifth and the sixth centuries the library of the rhetorical School of Gaza would emerge as one of the greatest libraries of

the classics in the Mediterranean region, a library in which Palestinian historian Procopius of Caesarea wrote some of his important works of history (Budin 2009: 17; N. Wilson 1983: 30–6).

Greek Philosophies and Mathematical Education in Late Antiquity in Palestine: Justin of Neapolis, Marinus of Neapolis and Eutocius of Ascalon

Under the Romans, Palestine felt the full effects of Hellenistic cultural achievements and their cultural impact. Palestine-based Origen and Palestine-born and educated Justin Martyr (Iustinus Martyr) contributed to the rise of a new genre produced by early Christian Hellenistic writers and apologists, which focused on defending the new faith in Greek philosophical terms and on equating Christianity with Greek philosophical reasoning. Also, both writers, like many early Christian intellectuals, looked to Platonism for ideas to construct their new religious and educational philosophies. If the libraries of Caesarea-Maritima and the School of Gaza provided Palestine with two of the foremost centres of learning, the Palestinian city of Nablus was the home of Christian intellectuals such as Justin Martyr. Founded in AD 73 and sharing its name with the Italian city of Naples (Italian: *Napoli*; Greek: *Νεάπολις*; romanized: *Neápolis*; English: 'New City') and then known as Flavia Neapolis,[5] in the Roman Province of Palestine, cosmopolitan Neapolis became a significant contributor to key concepts of Christian Platonism. Born around AD 100, Justin Martyr was born into a polytheistic family in Neapolis, at the time a mixed town with an educated Greek-speaking elite (Parvis 2008: 53–61). Nestling between mountains, Neapolis (as modern Nablus today) flourished partly due to its geographic and strategic location in central Palestine and being at the centre of local and international trade routes. The abundance of water from nearby springs and the fertile lands of its surrounding villages made Roman Neapolis a market town and a prosperous trading city of international repute in the Roman and Mediterranean world. The flourishing economy and international trade transformed Roman Neapolis into a key centre of Greek sciences and Platonism. Socially Roman Neapolis of the second century had a mixed population: it was largely polytheistic with a Samaritan minority and few Christians, and coins minted in the city during this period show its dominant Hellenistic polytheistic culture. The importance of Roman Neapolis is evident in the fact that the Romans built a grand natural theatre in the south of the city, a theatre that was used until the seventh century; 'Its diameter was 110 m, and with 6,000–7,000 seats it was one of the largest in Palestine' (Pummer 1989: 174). Neapolis was further expanded and its status raised by Roman Emperor Philippus Arabs (AD 244–9) (Pummer 1989: 174), a 'Christian Arab emperor' (Shahid 1984b: 75).

Jerome comments on 'Justin the Philosopher' in *On Illustrious Men*:

> Justin, a philosopher, and wearing the garb of philosopher, a citizen of Neapolis, a city of Palestine, and the son of Priscus Bacchius, laboured strenuously on behalf of the religion of Christ, insomuch that he delivered to Antoninus Pius and his sons and the senate, a work written *Against the nations*, and did not shun the ignominy of the cross.
>
> (Jerome 1999; n.d.)

Today Justin of Neapolis is regarded as a key figure of early Christian Neoplatonism and the foremost interpreter of the theological concept of the Greco-Christian *logos* in the second century AD (Rokeah 2002: 22). The Christian doctrine of the incarnation is the belief that Jesus, the second person of the Trinity, is also the *logos* and that the '*logos* was made flesh'. As a leading interpreter of the Greco-Christian *logos*, Justin argued that the 'true religion' and the 'seeds of Christianity' (manifestations of the *logos* acting in history) actually predated Christianity and Jesus' incarnation. This notion of the *logos* allowed Justin to claim that several historical Greek philosophers (Socrates and Plato included), whose works he studied, were unknowingly Christians. The notion that 'true faith' preceded the message of its prophet is also found in Islam. The Christian concept of the *logos* and Christian Neoplatonism generally were popularized further by Saint Augustine (AD 354–430) – an African-Roman thinker and a contemporary of Jerome – whose writings were to influence the development of Western philosophy and Western Christianity for many centuries to come. Within the context of early Christianity of the second to the fifth century AD Christian Neoplatonism was a revolutionary philosophy – a philosophy that would influence the radical philosophies of classical Islam.

According to L. W. Barnard, Justin was a 'Samaritan of Greek education' (2008). Although this claim is not universally accepted, Justin was educated in a predominantly polytheistic Hellenistic Neapolis, which was a major urban centre for the Samaritans, whose religion may have influenced Justin's religious thoughts (Hall 1989: 32–54). In the introduction to the *First Apology*, Justin refers to his native Palestinian city 'Flavia Neapolis in Palestine' (Masalha 2018: 85). A convert to Christianity, Justin, in chapter two of his apologetic *Dialogue*, defends his new faith with philosophical reasoning and describes his early schooling in his native Palestinian city of Neapolis of the second century, a city then acquainted with all strands and schools of Greek philosophy. Justin does not describe Christian schooling or Christian philosophers in the city. He describes how his initial Hellenistic education left him unsatisfied due to what he says was his teachers' failure to provide him with a belief system that would inspire him as a young man or ground his metaphysical reflections and theological expectations and explain to him the concept of God.

Justin reveals the extraordinary sophistication and rich diversity of teaching and learning practices in his native city and the centrality of music to some of the

philosophical schools in Roman Nablus. He tells us that he had attended several 'schools' (learning circles) of famous Hellenistic philosophies all studied in Roman Nablus. Take, for instance, the secular intellectual and scientific contribution of the Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists of Neapolis in Roman Palestine. Influenced by the geometry of the ancient Egyptians, and developed by Pythagoras (*c*. 570–*c*. 495 BC) and his followers, Pythagoreanism had viewed the cosmos and the human body as a harmonious unity and held that the planets move according to mathematical equations and resonate to produce an inaudible symphony of music. Following Greek traditions of learning, music also became central to the philosophies of classical Islam. Developing, and insisting on combining arithmetic and geometry, astronomy and music in their teachings and learning groups (DeBoer 1904), Pythagoreanism had a major impact on the Arabic sciences, mathematics, music, arts and philosophies of classical Islam and, following Pythagoras**,** in the tenth century al-Farabi classified mathematical sciences into arithmetic, geometry, music, optics, astronomy and mechanics (Druart 2020). To Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists was attributed the pedagogy that enabled mathematics to spread in Greece and the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean and Roman Palestine. Around 460 the young Marinus, a Samaritan who later converted to classical polytheism (Schepens, Jacoby and Radicke 1999: 269; Urbano 2013: 298–9) and native of Neapolis (b. AD *c*. 440) in the Byzantine province of Palaestina Prima, travelled to Athens to study at its famous Academy. Marinus was trained by the head (*scholarch*) of the Academy Proclus and appointed as his '*deputy scholarch*'. He continued in this capacity until the death of Proclus in 485, when Marinus assumed the leadership of the Athenian Academy. Shortly after, Marinus, probably the first ancient historian of mathematics, prepared a biography entitled *Proclus, or Happiness* (Urbano 2013: 298–9). Neoplatonist Proclus of Athens (AD 410–85) wrote commentaries on many Greek mathematical and theosophical works and commentaries on the first book of Euclid's *Elements* and Euclid's history of geometry, while his deputy and successor at the Academy and biographer Marinus of Neapolis became a renowned Neoplatonist philosopher, orator, gastronomist and biographer, and wrote an introduction to the *Data of Euclid*, *Life of Proclus* and two astronomical texts (Heath 2013: 537; O'Connor and Robertson n.d.; Phili 2002: 222; Watts 2008: 116). According to Damascius of Damascus (480–*c*. 550) – a Greek Neoplatonist philosopher and last in the succession of Platonic scholars and heads of the Neoplatonic Academy of Athens, who studied under Marinus, the mathematician – Marinus abandoned 'Samaritanism' for Greek philosophy (Urbano 2013: 298, n. 119), but it is also conceivable that Marinus' advanced Hellenistic education and mathematical career were a vehicle for the personal self-empowerment and self-expression of an indigenous culture in Palestine in search of a more advanced scientific education.

Marinus of Nablus was succeeded as the head of the most famous Academy in the classical world, Plato's Academy, by a less erudite and far less successful Neoplatonist Palestinian scholar, Isidorus of Gaza, at the beginning of the sixth

century (Tennemann 1852: 193). However, another important Palestinian mathematician of late antiquity was Eutocius of Ascalon (Greek: *Εὐτόκιος* ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης; *c.* 480–*c.* 540), of the Byzantine province Palaestina Prima, a mathematician who wrote commentaries on several Archimedean works (including *The Sphere and Cylinder*, *The Quadrature of the Circle* and the two volumes of *On Equilibrium*) and a commentary on the first four books of the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perge. Historians owe much of their knowledge of Archimedes' solution of a cubic by means of intersecting conics, alluded to in *The Sphere and Cylinder*, to Eutocius and his commentaries (Boyer 1991: 193; Gow 2010: 312; Heilen 2009: 62; Netz 2004). Eutocius was also credited by the tenth-century Arab Muslim bibliographer Ibn al-Nadim – who studied Greek sciences with Arab logicians in Baghdad and compiled the encyclopaedia *Kitab al-Fihrist* (The Book Catalogue) – with a commentary on the first book of *Apotelesmatica*, Ptolemy's comments on astrological theory (Heilen 2009: 62).

In Roman Palestine, the city of Nablus was a major centre of Platonist philosophy. Also, other Hellenistic schools of learning in the city had a wide impact on the self-definition and self-representations of the indigenous cultures of Palestine, an impact that can be seen in Justin of Neapolis' own description of his personal classroom experiences:

> I surrendered myself to a certain Stoic:[6] and having spent a considerable time with him… I left him and betook myself to another, who was called a Peripatetic [an Aristotelian], and as he fancied, shrewd. And this man after having entertained me for the first few days, requested me to settle the fee, in order that our intercourse might not be unprofitable… Him, too, for this reason I abandoned, believing him to be no philosopher at all. But when my soul was eagerly desirous to hear the peculiar and choice of philosophy, I came to a Pythagorean, very celebrated… when I had an interview with him… he said: 'What then? Are you acquainted with music, astronomy, and geometry? Do you expect to perceive any of these things, which conduce to a happy life…?' Having commended many of these branches of learning, and telling me that they were necessary, he dismissed me when I confessed to him my ignorance… In my helpless condition it occurred to me to have a meeting with the Platonists, for their fame was great. I therefore spent as much of my time as possible with one who had lately settled in our city – a sagacious man holding a high position among the Platonists – and I progressed and made the greatest improvements daily, and the perception of immaterial things quite overpowered me, and the contemplation of ideas furnished my mind with wings… I expected forthwith to look upon God, for this is the end of Plato's philosophy.
>
> (Kirby 2021)

Following his conversion to Christianity Justin travelled to Rome during the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61) and started his own Christian philosophical school. Justin was beheaded in Rome in AD 165 following the persecution of

Christians by the Roman authorities. Addressed to Antoninus, his sons and the Roman Senate, his *First Apology* (*c.* AD 155) passionately defended the morality of the Christian faith and provided various ethical and philosophical arguments to convince the Roman authorities to abandon their persecution of the fledgling sect. In this process of philosophical reasoning Justin made the early Christian intellectual tradition explicit; he promoted a rational philosophy of religious education which generations of future Christian teachers and educators would follow (Smith 2014: 5). However, Justin's school in Rome – which consisted of several male students and at least one woman, meeting in Justin's home – did not concentrate on the basic Christian faith since the students were supposed to have learned this from their parents at home; it focused on advanced philosophical subjects which were described by Justin in his writings (Berglund 2018: 218). Evidently the curricula of early Christian higher learning institutions in Palestine consisted of predominantly secular subjects; 'In every way except theology, Justin's and Origen's circle of disciples are comparable to contemporary philosophical schools' (218).

Already in the third century AD Palestine was centred on its wealthy, largely well-educated and highly developed Mediterranean capital city, Caesarea-Maritima. Palestine was also treated as a distinct country in the writings of its educated urban elites. From the capital Caesarea-Maritima, Origen's letter to the Roman Arab emperor Philip (Marcus Julius Philippus, or Marcus Iulius Philippus Augustus; r. AD 244–9), also known as 'Philippus Arabs', may have been 'decisive' in Philip's conversion to Christianity (Shahid 1984b: 75). Philip was from Arabia, or the northern part of the Roman *Provincia Arabia*, also known as *Arabia Petraea*. Inhabited by a mixed population and many Arabs, this region of the Hauran would later become part of the province of Palaestina Secunda and would in effect be ruled by Christian Ghassanid Arab client kings under nominal Byzantine control. 'Philip the Arab' himself went on to become a major figure in the Roman Empire (Bowersock 1994: 122). Among early Christian historians 'Philip the Arab' had the reputation of being sympathetic to the Christian faith. Some later Christian traditions, first mentioned by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, claimed that Philip was the first Christian Roman Emperor (Eusebius Pamphilus 2011: VI.xxxiv). Critics, however, argue that 'Philip the Arab' fared well with ecclesiastical historians because of his religious tolerance and overall sympathetic attitude towards Christians (Shahid 1984b: 76–7). After Origen's death, Palestinian unorthodox Origenism continued to spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean region – until the general condemnation and persecution of Origenism in the mid-sixth century – and the theological Library of Caesarea was managed and expanded by Pamphilus of Caesarea (latter half of the third century–309), who was chief among biblical scholars of his generation, a friend and teacher of Eusebius, the church historian and Bishop of Caesarea-Maritima in about AD 314, and who later collected and copied the writings of Origen and headed the school founded by Origen. Eusebius (known as the 'Father of Church History') was himself born in Caesarea and lived most of his adult life in the city.

Pamphilus, who like Origen was a scholarly presbyter, devoted his life to searching out and obtaining ancient texts for the library, which became one of the most famous and richest in antiquity. It attracted church historians and theologians from all over the Roman Empire: Saint Basil the Great (329–79); Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, a fourth-century Archbishop of Constantinople; and Saint Jerome.

Ecclesiastical vs Secular Histories in Late Antiquity in Palestine: Eusebius vs Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima

The dominant paradigm of Palestinian educational institutions under the Byzantines (especially from the formal adoption of Christianity by Constantine from the fourth century onwards) is that of the *desecularization* biblical paradigm which dominates and skews ancient Palestine studies. Yet the spectacular rise of first-class *secular* higher education in urban Palestine during the fifth to the sixth century contradicts this desecularization paradigm. Moreover, comparing the works of four of the most distinguished and influential Palestinian intellectuals of Byzantine Palestine – Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima; Procopius of Gaza, a sophist of high learning and one of the most important representatives of the famous rhetorical School of Gaza; the secular zoological work of Timotheus of Gaza; and Eusebius – also contradicts the desecularization paradigm (and one-way conversion from polytheism to monotheism). Much of our knowledge of the first three centuries of Christianity, the Christian Church and, consequently, the desecularization biblical paradigm comes from Eusebius, who became one of the great historians of late antiquity and the first great historian of the Christian Church. More than two centuries separated Procopius of Caesarea and Procopius of Gaza from Eusebius. However, Procopius of Gaza himself stayed in Caesarea at one point, and it is very likely that both he and Procopius of Caesarea used the famous Library of Caesarea, a library used by Eusebius two centuries earlier. But in intellectual terms the scholars were separated by four important (and interrelated) developments in Palestine in the late fifth and sixth centuries:

A. the higher educational revolution of Byzantine Palestine, most represented by the rise of the prestigious School of Gaza and its great library – with their emphasis on the secular pre-Christian classics;
B. the revival of secular classics in Palestine and of the teaching of Attic Greek in Palestine in the fifth to the sixth century as the key literacy language of higher education and literary production in Palestine – Attic had also been the classical dialect of Aristotle and Thucydides 1,000 years earlier;
C. the rise of the first elite legal colleges, first in Caesarea and Alexandria and later in the form of the prestigious Law School of Berytos (Beirut).

Crucially, the renaissance of secular classical literature in Palestine in the fifth to the sixth century paralleled the renaissance in secular classical legal studies in the law schools in the region in the fifth century, above all, at the Law School of Berytos, which lasted until the sixth century. In the colleges of Palestine and Lebanon scholia on Roman law codes and classical legal literature were created. Papyrus fragments of this secular classical legal literature, taught in the schools of Palestine and Lebanon, known as *Scholia Sinaitica*, were discovered in a Mount Sinai convent (Saint Catherine's) in the nineteenth century. Written in Greek, these works of Roman Law, dating between AD 438 and 529, were from different times by jurists who were connected to the Law School of Berytos; medieval adaptations of this legal literature have survived in Syriac, Armenian and Arabic (Von Albrecht 1997: 1514); and

D. the works of 'the two Procopiuses' (of Gaza and Caesarea-Maritima) and Eusebius also represented two distinctive (and perhaps contrasting) genres of intellectual writing and history: basically, *secular* knowledge production by 'the two Procopiuses' and *ecclesiastical* by Eusebius.

Palestine's classical pedagogical revolution of the fifth to the sixth century, encouraged by the imperial authorities in Constantinople, was represented by the rise in Palestinian higher education in classics and literary production in Attic Greek. Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima himself, like most major Palestinian intellectuals of the late fifth and sixth centuries, produced literary and historical works in Attic Greek, emulating classical authors of 1,000 years earlier, and this suggests he received an elite secular 'liberal education', including legal training (Lillington-Martin and Turquois 2017: 1). Procopius' education included Greek and Latin languages, classical literature, philosophy and rhetoric (possibly) at the then world-famous classicizing School at Gaza (Stewart 1972: 31), and he may have been taught by the head of the school, Procopius of Gaza (*c*. AD 465–528), who also published important works in Attic Greek, with an emphasis on pre-Christian secular classical literature. Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima also (possibly) attended the prestigious Law School at Berytos (Beirut) and the Law School of Constantinople (Cameron 1985: 6); he also became a lawyer (*rhetor*). After graduation Procopius was appointed and promoted (in the late 520s and 530s) to senior imperial advisory positions and served at locations in modern Turkey and Italy (Howard-Johnson 2000: 19–30; Lillington-Martin and Turquois 2017: 1). The tenth-century Byzantine Greek encyclopaedia of the ancient Mediterranean, or *Suda*, describes Procopius *inter alia* as follows: 'Procopius, *illustrious*, of Caesarea in Palestine. Rhetor and sophist. He wrote a Roman History, i.e. the wars of [general] Belisarius the patrician, the actions performed in Rome and Libya. He lived in the time of the emperor Justinian, was employed as Belisarius' secretary and accompanied him in all the wars and events which he recorded' (quoted in Lillington-Martin and Turquois 2017: 2). Procopius belonged to the school of secular historians and scholars of late antiquity; his models were the

classical historians, including Herodotus (the 'father of history') and Thucydides, and his works (written in Attic Greek) were aimed to equal the classical authors (Kaldellis 2004: 3–4; Lillington-Martin and Turquois 2017: 3) and covered the subject matter of secular history. His works, which became highly influential during his lifetime and afterwards, are an indispensable source for this period and contain much geographical information about Palestine. These include *History of the Wars* (2005), *The Wars of Justinian* (2014), *The Secret History* (2007) and *On Buildings* (1940). Procopius also wrote a 'scandalous biography' of the Empress Theodora (in his work *The Secret History*, 2007) at the great library of the School of Gaza (Budin 2009: 17); Procopius' description is dominated by 'feminine' and dubious revelations rather than the 'feminist' aspects of Theodora's personality: 'her pale skin, small stature and careful attention to her beauty regime' (Cameron 1985: 67–8).

Procopius' own works reflected the tensions between the *secular* classical and *religious* Christian models of history in sixth-century Palestine and the region. The most prestigious Palestinian college at the time, the School of Gaza, sought to reconcile and harmonize (fairly successfully) these tensions. However, in contrast with Procopius' subject matter of secular history, secular geography, Attic Greek and the (pre-Christian) secular classics, and for whom Christian churches were equivalent to classical polytheistic 'temples', two centuries earlier Eusebius' subject matter was comprised of religious and ecclesiastical history, imagined biblical toponymy and sacred geography, and his works included his famous book *Church History* (Greek: *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*; Latin: *Historia Ecclesiastica* or *Historia Ecclesiae*), a fourth-century work, written in Koine Greek – a dialect which for centuries had been the language of learning and recording in Palestine. The volume provided a chronological account of the development of the early Christian Church to the fourth century. Eusebius' subject matter and style became a model for subsequent European *ecclesiastical histories*, and many famous scholars came to Caesarea-Palaestina to study in its famous ecclesiastical library and schools. Moreover, today the Caesarea text-type is widely recognized by scholars as one of the earliest types for reading the four Gospels (Streeter 1926).

While Christianity continued to play a crucial role – although not always positive, as for example cited above, the persecution of Origen and dissident intellectual followers – in the history of the country and its people, it was this period of great intellectual and educational expansion that was the most important for the new religion in Palestine. The creation of many iconic cultural texts and objects made Palestine probably the best-known country in the world at the time, due to the many descriptions, artefacts, literary, religious and historical works that made it a household name within Christianity and beyond. Some of the iconic (and imagined sacred geography and toponymy) texts about the country were produced by Eusebius, who took pride in his native country of Palaestina; he repeatedly used the name Palaestina in his works, which later influenced generations of Christian writers worldwide. *De Martyribus Palaestina* (1861) by Eusebius gives

us a clear indication of the consolidation of the concept of Palaestina as a country during the early Byzantine period (Vailhé 1908). The *Martyrs of Palestine* relates to the persecution of early Christians in the capital of the country, Caesarea-Palaestina, and the country at large in the early fourth century AD. This account may have originally been composed in Palestinian Aramaic, the language of Jesus of Nazareth. Hebrew at the time of Jesus was largely an extinct language, with the Jews of Palestine speaking Aramaic and Hebrew being confined to liturgical uses. Closely related to Arabic, Palestinian Aramaic was a language with which Eusebius was well acquainted. At the time, Aramaic was the main vernacular (everyday) speech of the Palestinian peasantry and was spoken in the capital, Caesarea-Palaestina. Aramaic would also influence the evolution of Palestinian vernacular Arabic.

Byzantine Palestine also gave birth to the sixth-century world's most important historian, Procopius of Caesarea-Palaestina, an illustrious scholar from Palaestina Prima, the principal historian and secular geographer of the sixth-century Byzantine Empire and of the reign of Emperor Justinian. Procopius travelled extensively throughout the Mediterranean region and ancient 'Near East', accompanied the Byzantine general Belisarius as secretary in the wars of Justinian and commented extensively on the Ghassanid tribal Arab kings (*phylarchs*) of Palaestina Secunda, Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Salutaris. In his multivolume work *The Wars of Justinian* (*c*. 560), Procopius wrote:

> The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas [present-day ʿAqabah] on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf.
>
> (Prokopios 2014)

In his important secular history of Palestine, Procopius of *Metropolis Palaestinae* explained that Chosroes (Khosrow I [501–79]), the Shahanshah (King of Kings) of the Sasanian Empire of Persia from 531 to 579, had a great desire to make himself ruler of Palaestina on account of its extraordinary fertility, its wealth and the great number of its inhabitants (Gibbon 1838: 40; see also Prokopios 2014). Commenting on Procopius' observation about the fertility of the country, the English historian Edward Gibbon, in his most important work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in eight volumes between 1776 and 1788, wrote that the Roman historian Tacitus described Palestine as follows: 'the inhabitants are healthy and robust; the rains moderate; the soil fertile' (Gibbon 1838: 40). Gibbon added: 'Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the […] objects that attracted the ambitions, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes [I]' (Gibbon 1840: 173). He further added that the Muslim Arabs 'thought the same, and were afraid that Omar, when he went to Jerusalem, and charmed with the fertility of the soil and purity of the air, would never return to Medina' (Gibbon 1838: 40). During

the early Christian period, particularly from the fourth century onwards, the Holy Land – a nebulous, abstract and semi-mythical location – was transformed into a real country called Palaestina, with thriving cities, ports, beautiful churches and numerous monasteries, famous philosophical schools and libraries, an extensive road system, villages and a large commercially and culturally active population, which added to the interest shown by (Latin-speaking) Europeans. It was in the course of this early Christian period that the Latin term Terrae Sanctae became synonymous in Christian texts with the extensive use of the term Palaestina by Christian pilgrims and local historians. *Martyrs of Palestine* (AD 311) was written by Eusebius, the church historian and Bishop of Caesarea-Palaestina, who composed, in addition to his monumental work *Historia Ecclesiastica*, his *Onomasticon*[7] (*On the Place Names in the Holy Scripture*) (1971), a comprehensive geographical-historical study of place names in Palestine: 'Eusebius states that he compiled On the Place Names in the Holy Scripture by working through the Bible piecemeal' (Barnes 1981: 109). This major work of creative biblical imagination and historical invention has been described by British classicist Timothy David Barnes as a 'biblical gazetteer which is still the main literary source for the historic geography of Palestine both in biblical times and under the Roman Empire' (106).

Although Eusebius' *Onomasticon* was partly based on sacred history, religiously constructed and officially sanctioned scriptural geography and creative religious memory, Eusebius uses the name Provincia Palaestina repeatedly and in application to the whole country from Lebanon in the north to Egypt in the south, and this Roman/Byzantine administrative and official use influenced later generations of Christian and European writers. A native of Caesarea-Palaestina, whose language was Greek, Eusebius, in his Oration in Praise of Constantine, writes proudly about the special attention given to 'our Provincia Palaestina':

> he [Emperor Constantine] has selected two places [for his church-building programme] in the eastern division of the empire, the one in ['our province'] Palestine (since from thence the life-giving stream has flowed as from a fountain for the blessing of all nations), the other in that metropolis of the East which derives its name from that of Antiochus; in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he has consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building is encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rises to a vast elevation, of an octagonal form, surrounded by many chambers and courts on every side, and decorated with ornaments of the richest kind.
>
> (Jerome n.d.)

The ancient Greek term *orthódoxos*, which derived from *orthos*, meaning 'upright' or straight, and *doxa*, meaning 'opinion', is found in Arabic, and the largest group of indigenous Palestinian Christian Arabs are Orthodox Christians. The Orthodox Diocese of Caesarea-Palaestina is ancient – one of the earliest Christian bishoprics ever established. Records of the diocese (Greek: 'administration')

date as far back as the second century and its bishopric became a metropolitan see. Under the Byzantines the diocese was the metropolis of Palaestina Prima (*Metropolis Palaestinae*). It was initially directly subject to the Church of Antioch, one of the five major Christian Churches during the early Byzantine period. After the All Palestine Church of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) was granted autocephaly and independence in the mid-fifth century by the Council of Chalcedon, with top ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the 'Three Palestines', for many centuries the metropolitan church of Caesarea-Palaestina continued to see itself as a 'mother church' and as 'first among equals' of the churches of Palestine. The most well-known bishop of the diocese was Eusebius, who was among the most famous bishops to attend the First Council of Nicaea in 325. Today the historic metropolitan see of Caesarea-Palaestina, or the archiepiscopal see of Caesarea in Palaestina, is preserved by the modern Orthodox Palestinian Church. The archiepiscopal see of Caesarea-Palaestina is also known as a Latin titular see of the Catholic Church (Riley-Smith 1978; Segreteria di Stato Vaticano 2013: 867). A titular (non-diocesan) metropolitan or archiepiscopal see of the Catholic Church is a title used to signify a diocese that no longer functions, often because the diocese once flourished but the land was conquered by Muslims. In later days, a 'titular see' was seen by the Catholic Church as important for the preservation of the historic memories of ancient metropolitan churches such as that of Caesarea-Maritima. In the period between the creation of this titular bishopric of Caesarea-Palaestina in 1432 and 1967, twenty-eight Catholic bishops have occupied this honorary position. From 1975 to 2012 the Eastern Orthodox Metropolitan of Caesarea was Basilios Blatsos, who was also an Exarch of Palaestina Prima, under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The 'Athens of Asia': The Pedagogical Classical Revolution of the School of Gaza (Fifth and Sixth Centuries)

During late antiquity and the Byzantine period Palestine went through an advanced educational revolution and evolved into one of the most important centres of learning and intellectual activity in the eastern Mediterranean. With its highly influential Mediterranean schools of Gaza and Caesarea-Maritima, and the phenomenal cultural, architectural and demographic development of multicultural urban centres in Byzantine Palestine – Ascalon, Gaza, Caesarea-Maritima, Aelia Capitolina, Neapolis (Nablus) Scythopolis and other cities – in effect, the cities of Caesarea-Maritima and Gaza superseded and replaced both Athens and Alexandria as the premier centres of teaching and learning practices for the eastern Mediterranean region. The unprecedented economic prosperity and higher educational revolution of Palestine during this period enabled the country to flourish culturally and intellectually and to achieve a degree of autonomy by

relying largely on its soft power: its academies and libraries (famous examples are the rhetorical School of Gaza, the law school of Caesarea-Maritima and the Library of Caesarea-Maritima, the most extensive ecclesiastical library of late antiquity) and its world-famous holy places.

From ancient Greece, ancient Rome and ancient Arabia to Byzantine Palestine, and from classical Islam to modern times, rhetoric played a major role in poetry and the art of public persuasion as well as in training lawyers, poets, orators, historians, logicians, scholars, politicians and judges. Rhetoric was not only central to classical education and higher learning in the ancient world (Clarke [1971] 2012: 24–44) but was also developed further by the then world-famous rhetorical School of Gaza, which symbolized, more than any other institutions of learning, the pedagogical revolution of Byzantine Palestine. Moreover, Palestine's ability to accommodate and integrate multiple social groups and traditions and produce cultural and intellectual revolutions and its successful synthesis of diverse learning traditions and a variety of styles became central to its higher educational revolution and cultural identity in late antiquity.

Both mass literacy and women's mass literacy in Palestine are, as in all countries, a modern phenomenon. However, looking at the thriving centres in Palestine in the fifth and sixth centuries AD – an age of remarkable economic development and cultural renaissance of Palestine – one gets a strong sense of the country's sense of self-identity, its vibrant economy, its relatively widespread education among men and basic literacy among the urban male population, and its overall confident cosmopolitanism. Palestine's pedagogical revolution during this period was much in evidence in the classical intellectual revolution of Gaza city, one of the most important centres of learning in the country during this period, which emerged as a seat of classical literature and rhetoric, with a number of famous scholars living and working there; it was a vibrant cultural centre for the whole Mediterranean region.

Throughout the Byzantine period (fourth to the early seventh century) the name Gaza (and its district) became internationally synonymous with relaxed urban cosmopolitanism and the Palestinian intellectual revolution of late antiquity as well as with Christian monasteries and monastic schools, economic prosperity, excellent outward-looking education and high-quality wine exported to countries around the Mediterranean region. Palestinian wine, 'liquores Palaestini', was already well known around the Mediterranean region during Roman times, and Publius Papinius Statius, a classical Roman poet of the first century AD, refers in the *Silvae* to 'liquores Palaestini' (Palestinian wine) (Feldman 1996: 565; Zeiner 2005: 104), which was of fine quality and exported throughout the Mediterranean region. The fame of *liquores Palaestini* was partly derived from the application of south Arabian spices and local herbs and the Palestinian aromatic balsam to wine-making in Palestine and the Arab region as a whole, something which Statius called *liquores Arabes* (Zeiner 2005: 104). Palestinian balsam, dates and a variety of fruits were also widely exported throughout the Roman Empire

(Lapin 2001: 124). In the course of the subsequent Byzantine period, large-scale production of *Palaestini liquores* in Palaestina Prima, especially in the Gaza district, led to international commerce in the commodity, and Palestinian wine was exported around the Mediterranean region and in the Near East. Although the Palestinian wine was generally religiously discouraged during the Islamic Abbasid period, the genre of wine poetry (*al-Khamriyyat*) became a recurring theme in classical Arabic poetry of the Abbasid period in the Middle Ages. Also, ancient methods of wine-making survived in Palestine into the modern period, while the balsam shrub was reported to be cultivated in Galilee in the early nineteenth century (Burckhardt 1822: 323).

In addition to its highly lucrative wine industry (produced in the Gaza district and shipped through the port of 'Maiumas Gaza' [Gaza by the sea] to other Mediterranean countries) the economic wealth of the Gaza region in late antiquity was partly derived from being a port city; its port (Maiumas Gaza) was the principal Palestinian port on the Mediterranean serving the Incense Road, linking the Arabian trade with the Mediterranean world and serving the trade in herbs, spices, incense, glass, drapery and agricultural produce. High-quality wine produced in the Gaza region (which included Ascalon) and goods that arrived in the port of Gaza on the backs of camels from southern Arabia were shipped to the Mediterranean and European markets. The discovery of a large number of wine presses in the hinterland of Gaza, and the triangle between Gaza, Ascalon (Asqalan) and the Naqab, shows the transformation of the Gaza district into a major wine-producing region in Palestine, with perhaps the most sophisticated wine industry in the Mediterranean region. During this period Gaza also experienced a fast urbanization and became, together with Caesarea-Palaestina, one of the two biggest cities in Palestine. The relaxed cultural setting of Byzantine Gaza and its economic prosperity contributed to the growth of its internationally renowned higher learning system in the fifth and early sixth centuries. The economic wealth of the Gaza district was partly derived from its location at the centre of the international trade and transnational transit routes: pilgrims travelled via Gaza to the holy places of Aelia Capitolina; Arab merchants travelled to and through Gaza to Egypt and Arabia; and the city functioned as a key port for the export of south Arabian spices to the whole Mediterranean region. Between the fourth and early seventh centuries Gaza and Ascalon also became renowned for their vineyards, and their locally manufactured 'Gaza amphorae' (jars; known in Greek as *Gazition*) and fine-quality 'Gaza wine', both of which were exported to countries around the Mediterranean and far beyond (Mayerson 1985: 75–80, 1992: 76–80; Sivan 2008: 29; Vroom 2018: 648).

The extensive wine and olive industries of Roman and Byzantine Palestine produced a wide range of Palestinian amphora styles, produced in the northern and southern regions of the country, from the fourth to the seventh century AD – some of these amphora styles continued into early Islam and Umayyad Palestine. The Gaza district style amphora, a wine jar of 70–85 centimetres in height, produced for international wine export, with its distinctive Palestinian 'bag-shaped' form,

became known as a 'classical' jar around the Mediterranean region. The enormous variety of styles of Palestinian amphorae excavated is a result of their production throughout Palestine and the evolving styles across several Roman and Byzantine centuries. The production of many of the general types continued into Umayyad Palestine. This variety included:

A. The classic Palestinian 'cigar-shaped' amphora form: a 'cigar-shaped' amphora, early second- to third-century AD, examples of which were wide-bodied and thick-walled, with a broad sagging base, while later in the fifth to the early seventh century AD the amphorae were longer and narrow-bodied, with corresponding smaller, more cone-shaped bases and steeper shoulders. All had a short vertical band rim. Early examples being tall and triangular, fourth-century AD examples were more slanted and short, fifth-century AD examples small and square, and those of the late sixth and seventh centuries AD more rounded. Loop handles were attached to the shoulders and there was a wide band of heavy ridging on the shoulder, where the handles are attached near the base. The same method was used to produce the other 'classic' Palestinian form, the 'bag-shaped'. This classic form was produced in coastal southern Palestine, the Gaza district and the region between Gaza and Asqalan (Archaeological Data Service 2005; Vroom 2018: 648; Mayerson 1985: 75–80; 1992: 76–80).
B. A slender tapering cone-shaped amphora form covered by riling and ending with a small flat base. This form had a high neck and a simple flanged rim. Its handles were ridged and stretched from the rim to the shoulder; it was produced in northern Palestine.
C. A small vessel-shaped amphora with a pointed bottom and close-set riling covering the body. The amphora had a wide mouth with a small lip, small semi-circular handles and a small hollow point at the base (Archaeological Data Service 2005; Vroom 2018: 648; Mayerson 1985: 75–80; 1992: 76–80).

The Madaba Floor Mosaic Map of the sixth century – one of the most powerful symbols of urban Palestine during late antiquity and showing Palestine, Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea – describes the city of Gaza as a large walled and carefully planned city: laid out on an orthogonal grid street plan, with seven gates, a theatre in the south-eastern quarter and a colonnaded *cardo* (a north-south street in ancient Roman cities) intersecting with the *decumanus* (an east-west-oriented road in a Roman city) at a rectangular Roman-style forum (Finney 2017: 563, 'Gaza'). The forum was a public space and the centre of day-to-day life in Roman and Byzantine cities, as well as the site of public processions and public speeches, criminal trials and the nucleus of commercial life in the city.

Intellectually and culturally the city of Gaza (as a 'university town') boasted private (and public) libraries and repositories of classical books during the Byzantine period (Romeny 2007: 173–90). As in modern times, the great works of

literature and sciences of the Greeks and Romans were kept in great libraries, 'the most famous of which in the ancient world' included Athens, Alexandria, Beirut, Constantinople and 'Gaza (Palestine)':

> Each of these libraries had its own areas of specialization. The library of Beirut was a law school, while students of Plato and the late Neoplatonic doctrines held sway in Athens.… The library of Alexandrea was where the Hellenistic scholars began the compilation and criticism of the ancient Greek poets and where the Roman geographer/historian Strabo did much of his research; at Gaza, the [Palestinian] Byzantine historian Procopius [of Caesarea-Maritima] wrote a scandalous biography of the Empress Theodora, paraphrased the works of Homer and possibly invented the ancestor of the modern footnote.
>
> (Budin 2009: 17; N. Wilson 1983: 30–6)

The extraordinarily relaxed setting and flourishing cultural and intellectual urban environment of Christian-majority Gaza for over two centuries in late antiquity brought about the spectacular rise of the rhetorical School of Gaza, which was headed by scholarches, philosophers and rhetoricians. The intellectual Gaza 'quad' here refers collectively to four distinguished Christian philosophers, rhetoricians and representatives of the famous college of their city: Procopius of Gaza (*c.* AD 465–528); Aeneas of Gaza (d. *c.* AD 518); Zacharias of Gaza (*c.* AD 465–536), known as Zacharias Rhetor and Zacharias Scholasticus, a bishop and ecclesiastical historian; and Choricius of Gaza (AD 491–518), Procopius' pupil and successor as the head of the School of Gaza. This classicizing elite college, or world-famous 'university', of Gaza was the subject of two important doctoral dissertations, one in Heidelberg by Kilian Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza: Eine litterargeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1892), and the other at Uppsala University by David Westberg, *Celebrating with Words: Studies in Rhetorical Works of the Gaza School* (2010). Historically, Athens and later Alexandria were the premier 'university towns' and the home of elite classical education; but by the late fifth and sixth centuries Gaza had effectively replaced Athens as the premier 'university town' of philosophy for the Mediterranean region. While sixth-century Alexandria remained a key 'university town' and the centre of medical studies, and Beirut became the centre of elite legal studies in the region (Cameron 2016: 244), the School of Gaza's spectacular revival of the classics and of Attic Greek, the language of the great Athenian intellectuals 1,000 years earlier, meant that Gaza acquired the fame of being the home of the classics and the title of the 'Athens of Asia'.

At the beginning of the sixth century, about a century before the Islamic conquest of Palestine and shortly after Palestinian mathematician (and convert from Samaritanism to polytheism) Marinus of Neapolis succeeded Proclus as head of the Academy in Athens, Procopius of Gaza, the head of the School of Gaza, inaugurated the public clock that decorated Gaza's market, according to the rhetorical techniques of the *ekphrasis* taught and practised at the School of Gaza (Belayche 2004: 19–20). Procopius and other teachers at the school kept in touch

with former students and (like today) they used letters to former students to help raise the profile of the school further. The high profile and prestige of the school brought Aeneas of Gaza, a prominent Neoplatonic philosopher at the school, to boast that young Athenians who wanted to learn Attic Greek should go to Palestine and Syria.

While for centuries since the rule of the Hellenistic Ptolemies – and through the fourth century AD – Koine Greek had been the language of advanced learning and recording in Palestine, the spectacular rise of elite higher learning in Palestine and the pedagogical revolution in the fifth to the sixth century were closely associated with the revival of Attic Greek and the classics in Palestine, and with the rise of the classics at the then world-famous School of Gaza. This classical Attic revolution of Gaza and its elite 'university' was documented by historians (Downey 1958; Penella 2009: Intro.; Seitz 1892). However, evidently the flowering of the classics and the Attic Greek dialect were not confined to the teaching and learning at the School of Gaza and the production of high-quality literature in fifth- to sixth-century Palestine; Attic Greek was also commonly used by the social and political elites of Gaza city (Sivan 2008: 43) as well as by the intellectuals of Caesarea-Maritima and perhaps the elites of other major cities in Palestine.

Procopius, the chief member of the School of Gaza, was born in Gaza, received his higher education in Alexandria and returned to his hometown and became the head of the school until his death in 526 (Romeny 2007: 173–4); he was also described as

> a Christian professor of rhetoric at the university of Gaza in Palestine, who is best known for a collection of letters and declamations in pure attic style… It is apparent that Procopius's starting point was a Greek *catena*, which he augmented in various ways.
>
> (Bischoff and Lapidge 1995: 227–8)

Moreover, Procopius' *ekphrasis* (ἔκφρασις) – a term that comes from the Greek for the vivid description of a visual work of art produced as a rhetorical exercise in Attic Greek – shows his pre-Christian classical education as well as his great classical rhetorical talents; it also reveals his role as a first-class humanist and professional art critic in describing a classical public mural produced by a local Gaza artist and derived from pre-Christian art themes and preserved in the secular art in his native Gaza (Talgam 2004: 209–34); Procopius' 'activities in the field of secular culture in no way contradict his being a faithful Christian' (216), and Byzantine Gaza was often mentioned as a city in which classical (secular) 'pagan and Christian culture were in good balance' (Romeny 2007: 173).

Interestingly, Procopius of Gaza also wrote about Attic grammar, and Federica Ciccolella, Professor of Classics at Texas A&M University, showed that Italian translation and commentary of Procopius' letters of Greek grammar contributed to the revival of Greek studies in modern European Renaissance humanism, with its emphasis on the classics, in the early modern period (Ciccolella 2008).

Both Procopius of Gaza and Aeneas of Gaza were educated in the secular classical Hellenistic academies of Alexandria but also came under the influence of classical Neoplatonism – Neoplatonism, which they would synthesize with early Christian orthodox ideas, was much in evidence in the School of Gaza; Neoplatonism, synthesized with Islamic ideas, would also later exercise huge impact on Islamic philosophical discourses and rhetoric of the Middle Ages and reflect the shared heritage of Islam and Christianity in the Near East.

By any standard, this classical educational revolution in Gaza and Palestine and the indigenization, institutionalization and academization of Palestinian education and the flourishing economic and cultural spaces were extraordinary. This intellectual and pedagogical revolution of late antiquity in Gaza was described by George Kennedy as follows:

> Gaza, on the southern coast of Palestine, was a pleasant and prosperous city in the Fifth Century which clung to the old traditions. Julian's apostasy was greeted there with enthusiasm. Gregory of Naziansus… and Libanius thought well of its rhetoric schools… Christianity may for a time have inhibited classical studies in Gaza, but in the late Fifth and early Sixth Centuries it was the home of a series of Classicizing sophists and writers who together constitute what is known as the School of Gaza. The most important of these are Procopius and Choricius, but brief mention may be made of several others. Aeneas of Gaza was the author of a surviving dialogue entitled *Theophrastus* [the name of a factious Platonist interlocutor, written between 485 and 590].
>
> (Kennedy 2008: 169; Gertz, Dillon and Russell 2014)

Procopius' disciple and successor at the School of Gaza, Choricius of Gaza, who flourished in the early sixth century AD, also 'held the apparently publicly supported chair in rhetoric in Gaza' (Penella 2009: Intro.). The classical School of Gaza represented the high end of higher learning throughout the Mediterranean region. The School of Gaza was also at the cutting edge of the Byzantine education system, and over the course of the period (fourth to early seventh century) three distinct stages of education emerged: primary, secondary and higher education, although in Palestine only two distinct stages of education can be clearly distinguished: *elementary* and *higher* education. In the developing Byzantine education system, the basic skills of reading and writing in Greek and Latin were taught by elementary schoolteachers, *grammatici* (*γραμματικοί*; *grammatistes*, 'grammarians'), or teachers of prose literature and letters in ancient Greece, their pupils generally ranging from six to ten years old. The secondary school teacher, or *grammatikos* (γραμματικός 'scholar' or 'teacher'), taught Attic Greek and Latin grammar, classical Greek and Roman literary texts (as well as basic logic, basic law and basic rhetoric) to pupils aged ten to sixteen. Rhetoric, Aristotelian logic, philosophy, history, literature, law and public speaking formed the main content of higher education taught to students aged sixteen and above (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999). It is also known that a teacher named Hierius

taught Latin grammar at the School of Gaza (Ciccolella 2008: 83). The proximity of Palestine to the prestigious Law School of Beirut (Berytos) may have also encouraged the promotion of law studies and more generally Latin studies in the School of Gaza (Ciccolella 2007: 181–204). The professors and *rhetors* of the School of Gaza taught students rhetoric, law, grammar (Greek and Latin), logic and philosophy at the highest levels, and how to articulate arguments and speak in public with clarity, elegance and persuasiveness, in imitation of classical models of teaching and learning (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999). For the *rhetors* (teachers of rhetoric, or rhetoricians, or lawyers; from ancient Greek *ῥήτωρ*), the speaking style and presentation were as important as the content or use of original thinking. The *rhetors*, or professors of rhetoric and philosophy, introduced students (who were often over the age of sixteen) to many of the topics and themes of classical literature and theatre, to the historical works of Thucydides and Herodotus and the philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle, Aristotelian logics included (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999), and to the dialectical methods of learning: *Dialexeis*, with its 'two-fold arguments' and 'contrasting arguments'.

Although Gaza's School of Rhetoric flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries, it had its roots in the fourth century. Already in the fourth century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (A Description of the World and its Peoples), an important survey written by an anonymous citizen of the Roman Empire, originally written in Greek (and preserved in Latin versions) by a native of the then Roman province of 'Syria Palaestina', describes the high quality of the 'listeners' (*auditors*: students, teachers, speaker) in Gaza (Webb 2018: 648). Hellenistic Gaza also combined academic excellence with Hellenistic education under both the Greeks and Romans, and always combined academic study with physical education (*gumnastike*), especially for males; athletics and sports were an essential component of a person's education. Elite and professional sports were evident in Gaza's schools and public arenas. The *Expositio totius mundi* also details the varieties of sports and contests in which the most important Palestinian and Syrian cities distinguished themselves (Remiisen 2015: 110; Schurer 2014: 45). Evidently Gaza's education combined '*bonos auditores*' (good speakers and teachers) with professional *Pammacharii* (those who combined martial art with athletic contests of wrestling, boxing and *pankration*, originally introduced in the Greek Olympic Games) who – in addition to the athlete-wrestlers of Ascalon (Remiisen 2015: 110) – were the most famous in the cities of Palestine and Syria. Elite athletics and sports were key components of education in late antiquity in Palestine:

> In Gaza, a boy of sixteen was praised in 'winning contests in the stadia where prizes to be won'… in a funeral inscription from hexameters[8] from 569. Gaza was in the fifth and sixth century mostly Christian, but in its famous school of rhetoric young men were still taught their classics… Members of the school such as Choricius or Aeneas, though Christian, knew classical literature well

> and often used agnostic metaphors. Probably, the contests of the inscription were a mere metaphor of his Christian way of life. It is not wholly implausible, however, that a group of boys going to a school for Greek culture would compete in some type of athletic school contests. The long history of the Antiochene Olympics in fact makes sense only if athletics was still attractive in at least some elite circles.
>
> (Remiisen 2015: 107)

The rich education of the School of Gaza was influenced by a mix of diverse secular Hellenistic, Christian and indigenous traditions as well as by the colleges of Alexandria, Caesarea-Maritima, Beirut (Berytos) and Athens, in addition to Aristotle's logical works and classical Neoplatonism. Combining a range of influences, the city of Gaza created its own distinct and flourishing intellectual and academic life. Music was central to the classical education of Byzantine Gaza. Also in the fourth century the city of Gaza was described as having '*bonos auditores*' (and good musicians) and aspired to be a 'workshop of eloquence'. The School of Gaza rose in the later fifth century and achieved its highest reputation in the sixth century in the period before the Islamic conquest of Palestine: 'The School was a marked flowering of rhetorical, literary and intellectual Greek culture' (Penella 2009: Intro.). Originally influenced by the Hellenistic culture of Alexandria, in the fifth and sixth centuries the city of Gaza became of cultural importance in its own right. John of Gaza, a sixth-century Palestinian Christian grammarian – who wrote 703 hexameters in Attic Greek – describes the city in his day 'as having the height of *logoi*' (Penella 2009: Intro.), a plural of *logos*, which in the Hellenistic culture meant speech, study, discourse, oration, story, word, calculation and reason. In addition to its world-famous rhetorical school, Gaza also became renowned for its musical culture and its Rose Festival, a spring festival – which had its roots in pre-Christian polytheistic cultures – in which poetry, music, fine-quality, locally produced wine (Mayerson 1985: 75–80; 1992: 76–80; Vroom 2018: 648), popular religion, public speeches, rhetorical declamations and theatrical performances were all present (Masalha 2018: 124–8) and often combined to inform, educate, move and entertain audiences.

The elite School of Gaza was described by some authors in less formal terms as a 'circle' or 'group' (Penella 2009: Intro.), while others saw in the school the emergence of structured education with the heads of the school (including Aeneas of Gaza [d. *c.* 518], a Christian Neoplatonist philosopher; Procopius of Gaza; and Choricius of Gaza), holding publicly funded chairs. These heads of the school, who were all Christians, emphasized the secular pre-Christian classics in education, while seeking to harmonize Hellenistic classics in education with the Christian doctrine; these efforts contributed to shaping the curriculum of the school (Penella 2009: Intro.); no contradiction was seen between the secular pre-Christian classics and Christian education.

The classical Greek concept of art, *techne* (*τέχνη*), was at the centre of rhetorical pedagogy in Palestine and more generally; the term *techne* was often used as a

term to further define the process of rhetoric as an art of persuasion and practical and dynamic knowledge, of innovation and invention. The vitality of the rhetorical *techne* in the Gaza rhetorical school can be seen in the works of its headteachers, and frequently it was erudition and eloquence – not religion or Christianity – that united or divided the Palestinian intellectuals of Gaza. Commenting on the links between the rise of higher learning in Byzantine Gaza and the growth in confidence of the Greek-speaking intellectual elite in the country, *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* says:

> it was in the late fifth and early sixth centuries that what is known as the 'School of Gaza' flourished. The 'School' was a loose grouping of Christian orators and intellectuals some of whom had a teacher-pupil relationship as in the case of Aeneas, Procopius, and Choricius who taught rhetoric and served as public orators. Their letters and speeches reveal their contacts with prominent citizens and dignitaries and the continued role of schools in producing a classically educated Christian elite. Their traditional output is characterised by its application of traditional Hellenic forms such as epithalamia and funeral orations to fit Christian subjects as well as experiments with new forms of poetry and prose composition. Procopius and Aeneas also composed works of Bible interpretation and philosophy respectively.
>
> (Webb 2018: 648)

However, although polytheism may have lingered on the fringes of sixth-century Palestine, in contrast with the composition of the students of Origen's heterodox academy in Caesarea-Palaestina in the third century, students who came from both Christian and pagan backgrounds, by the late fifth to the sixth century Byzantine Gaza and its surrounding regions had been largely (if not totally) converted to Christianity and inevitably the School of Gaza was attended by largely ambitious Christian (indigenous and foreign) students from Palestine and neighbouring countries; it is also likely that Arab and Jewish students (Hidary 2017: 7) from southern Palestine also attended the school. In the third to the early seventh century AD tens of thousands of Arabs from the Arab tribes of southern, eastern and central Palestine converted to Christianity and some rose to became senior figures and bishops in the independent (*autocephalous* or 'self-headed') All Palestine Orthodox Church of Jerusalem (Masalha 2018: 106–13). Fourth-century documents and letters mention the names of *rhetors* and Arab inhabitants from the Nabataean Naqab Arab towns of Nessana and Elusa, and the two schools of these towns; in Elusa a school is mentioned with an official teacher of rhetoric (Colt 1962; Hidary 2017: 6; Hoyland 2015: 65–6; Magness 2003; Shahid 1984a: 275; 1989: 143). All this leads to the conclusion that some Ghassanite Arabs of the three Byzantine provinces of Palestine – Palaestina Prima, Palaestina Secunda and Palaestina Salutaris (Masalha 2018: 135–50) – and Arab converts to Christianity from southern Palestine were educated in the rhetorical School of Gaza.

The students of the elite School of Gaza were educated in Attic Greek and within the classical traditions of education and the general Byzantine Christian system of education. Despite the Neoplatonist orientation of some of its teachers, the school's curriculum, embodied within the Byzantine education system, 'remained weighted towards rhetoric with Aristotle's logical works as one of its main platforms' (Cameron and Gaul 2017: 3). In the classical traditions of education and the Byzantine schools, the emphasis on logic and rhetoric (and the art of public performance and public persuasion) and love for theatrical performance went hand in hand, and in Gaza, as well as in several other Palestinian cities, a thriving theatre culture arose. The private and public spaces of Gaza nurtured theatrical performances and public rhetorical displays in schools, 'holy theatres' and even public 'baths' (Champion 2014: 21–51).

Throughout much of the Byzantine era (but especially in the fifth to the sixth century) the educational revolution in the higher learning institutions in Palestine produced outward-looking scholars who closely interacted with the advanced philosophical academies of Alexandria and the law college of Berytos (Beirut). The pride in the highly professional advanced local higher education and the confidence of the Palestinian classicizing intellectual elite of Gaza found their expression in a letter by the head of the School of Gaza, Aeneas of Gaza, who wrote to a former student that

> people no longer sail into the Piraeus in love with the Academy [founded by Plato in Athens], nor do they frequent the Lyceum [founded by Aristotle in Athens], for they think the Academy and Lyceum are found among us.
>
> (Penella 2009: Intro.)

Interestingly also, classicizing Palestine of the fifth to the sixth century had an impact on the emergence of classical studies in early modern Europe and the European Renaissance. Procopius of Gaza wrote about Attic grammar and the School of Gaza taught this grammar.

Gown and Town and Civic Pedagogy: Intellectual Leadership and Citizenship in Gaza

Why call Gaza the 'Athens of Asia'? One explanation, as discussed above, is the emergence of Gaza as a great city of classical learning with its then world-famous academy, the 'School of Gaza', modelled on the two famous classical academies of Athens: the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle. But Alexandria, the great city of Greek learning, with its renowned Library and its advanced academies, which had a huge impact on the rise of advanced learning in Gaza, was never called the 'Athens of Africa'.

Moreover, the intellectual elites of late antiquity in Gaza (and Palestine as a whole) must have been acutely aware of the variety of types of cities, including *imperial cities* (Constantinople, Rome and Alexandria) and metropolitan cities (Caesarea-Maritima) as well as the classical city-states of Greece (*Poleis*), especially Athens as a city of learning. Classical Athens was not seen just as an administrative and religious entity and as a distinct city of academies but also as a 'body of citizens' with civic rights and duties.

Generally, the academic curricula of classical academies would have included some of the ideas in Plato's *Republic* about the 'ideal state' (a city-state; *πόλις*) governed by a philosopher-ruler. In *The Republic*, Plato sets up his own ideals of *paideia* (or ideal pedagogy), which in classical Athens and later in Eastern Roman ('Byzantine') education referred to the elite education of the ideal member of the *polis* or the state of intellectual, moral and physical refinement; the practical aspects of this education included subjects subsumed under the modern designation of the liberal arts (rhetoric, grammar and philosophy) as well as scientific disciplines such as arithmetic. The classically educated Christian elites of Gaza were influenced by Plato's ideal *paideia* and the ideal state in *The Republic*, and Plato's philosophies also shaped classical political thinking and inspired civic ideas in classical Islam, especially al-Farabi's 'philosophy of civil society' – namely, *falsafa madaniyya* and the *madina* (city) – and the *polis* as 'an association of human beings' taking into account the 'highest perfection' of citizens and civil administration. Al-Farabi was an avid reader of philosophical texts, many translated from Greek and Syriac into Arabic in the monasteries of Palestine, Syria and Iraq in the eighth to the tenth century. Apparently, al-Farabi's work on the perfect 'state' was also linked to a well-known passage in the sixth book of Plato's *Republic*; the passage alluded to various representatives of classical Greek thought and Neoplatonist ideas including Isidorus of Gaza (Al-Farabi 1985: 470). The latter was a Neoplatonic philosopher of late antiquity and a friend of Proclus, the head of the Platonic Academy in Athens; Proclus was succeeded as head of the Academy by the Palestinian scholar Marinus of Nablus, and Marinus was succeeded by Isidorus, another Palestine-born classical philosopher (Tennemann 1852: 193).

The scholarly gown (or special robes) as a distinctive form of clothing for an academic setting and as a symbol of higher education existed in ancient universities and Islamic higher educational colleges in the Middle Ages. The works of Fotini Hadjittofi (2019: 145–63) and David Westberg (2019 164–86) on the educational leaderships of Choricius of Gaza and Procopius of Gaza show that 'gown and town', civil duty, rhetoric and public performances were at the heart of the educational and civic activities at the School of Gaza; that the idea of the 'ideal city and citizenry' and educational public leadership promoted by the school was characterized by civic harmony and peace, and that the school leaders hoped that social conflicts would be resolved with words, diplomacy and negotiation, rather than physical force. Both Hadjittofi and Westberg show that classical education and practical rhetoric were crucial in the worldview of these teachers, and that the

rhetor (or orator) with his use of persuasive rational arguments was the true urban civic leader.

At the School of Gaza, languages (including the grammar of Attic Greek and Latin), classical literary texts, dialectics, discourse analysis, and multiple forms of representations and rhetorical devices were central to the rhetoric and the practically and professionally oriented curriculum at the School of Gaza, which combined Platonic and Neoplatonist doctrines with more pragmatic classical Aristotelian approaches to rhetoric and character education. Methodologically, on the basis of works by Procopius, the head of the School of Gaza, and other texts (Belayche 2004: 19–20; Bischoff and Lapidge 1995: 227–8; Suomen Tiedeseura 1922: 96; Talgam 2004: 209–34) we can construct, with a degree of accuracy, the major literary and linguistic techniques, or devices, of teaching and learning, and the rhetorical exercises were combined with civic ideas, classical literature and arts at the School of Gaza – all these devices were also aimed at fostering an 'ideal city' (*polis*) of peaceful harmony.

The rhetorical devices for orators, students and 'ideal citizens' using persuasive arguments, public speech and promoting civic values taught by, and practised at, the School of Gaza included:

A. *Dialexeis*: this literary motif and a term used by Procopius of Gaza[9] also refers to a classical teaching and learning method (also known as *Dissoi Logoi* (*δισσοὶ λόγοι*). Combined with public performances, this method was an integral part of the curriculum of rhetoric, art and the teaching of civic negotiators at the School of Gaza. As a rhetorical device, *Dialexeis* was a 'two-fold argument', or 'contrasting arguments', a rhetorical exercise intended to help students (and future *rhetors* and lawyers) to gain a deeper understanding of an issue and perform publicly by forcing them to consider an argument from the angle of their opponent, which may serve either to strengthen their argument or to help public debaters reach compromises. As in classical Greek education, at the School of Gaza students of rhetoric would be asked to write in a single oration a method of demonstrating skill and then speak and debate logically both sides of an argument in the hope of arriving at a deeper truth or persuading people to act. The dialectics of the counter-arguments in *Dialexeis* also emphasized the power, versatility and contextuality of language, rhetoric relevant to civic duties, and the art of diplomacy and negotiation.
B. *Ethopoiia* (*ἠθοποιία*): a rhetorical study of the types of character in orations: the combination of a rhetorical technique with public performance for the promotion of civic virtue and character education, in which the students write and present an imaginary speech by a real person describing the person's known characteristics. Aristotle's approach to education and discourse distinguished between *logos* (reasoning), *ethos* (character) and *pathos* (emotion), the applications of which depended on the situation and audiences; while the method of *Dialexeis* emphasized *logos* (reasoning) and dialectics, *Ethopoiia* emphasized character education

and representation in rhetoric and discourse. Derived from the Greek *ethos* (character) and *poeia* (representation), *Ethopoiia* combined elements of both *ethos* and *pathos*, a technique essential to impersonation exercises taught in Greek schools of rhetoric. This character representation and the act of impersonation enabled students (and future lawyers, civil servants, speech writers and other job seekers) to develop the ability to capture and adapt the ideas, vocabulary and style of delivery suited to the audiences for whom, or context within which, a speech or letter is written, and to demonstrate, using emotional and dramatic language where appropriate, how the technique *Ethopoiia* can be moulded practically and made to work in different situations and for different purposes.

C. The linguistic concept of *catena*: the term *catena* is derived from Latin for 'chains', a unit of syntax and morphology closely associated with dependency grammar, and this concept serves as the basis for the analysis of a number of phenomena of syntax and predicate-argument structure. The earliest Greek-language *catena* was ascribed to Procopius of Gaza and his educational work at the School of Gaza. In fact, Procopius used classical literature as models for further development and augmentation of the Greek *catena* (Bischoff and Lapidge 1995: 227–8) and other collection of *scholia*[10] for the benefit of his students and the needs of the educational system in Gaza.

D. *Ekphrasis* (ἔκφρασις) and making connections between linguistic literacy, visual literacy and emotional literacy: *Ekphrasis* is a term that comes from the Greek for the vivid description of a visual work of art, either real or imagined, produced as a rhetorical exercise. By seeking to define and describe the essence (underlying reality) and forms of a work of art, the rhetorical device relates more directly to the audience. By telling the story of the work of visual art (a painting, a sculpture, a piece of architecture or any type of artistic medium), *Ekphrastic* art (as well as *Ekphrastic* poetry) sought to illuminate vividly and bring to life the beauty of the work of visual art and the human pleasure derived from this experience. Educationally, using examples of *ekphrasis* in teaching literature and philosophy was to encourage the students to make connections between works of art and literary texts; to get the students emotionally, intellectually and imaginatively engaged with literary texts; and to broaden students' imagination and horizons and develop new understandings of, and connections between, visual, emotional and linguistic literacies.

The combination of educational and civic leadership was not confined to the classical education in Gaza. Many students who graduated from the School of Gaza occupied senior educational, administrative and civic positions in the country and some, such as Procopius of Caesarea-Maritima, in the imperial civil service. In one case, Flavius Stephanus, who became *consularis Palaestinae Primae* (Proconsul of Byzantine Palestine) in *c.* 529–36, was born in Gaza and probably educated at its famous School of Rhetoric (Holum 1986: 231–9). However, it is important to point out that, in connection with schools of rhetoric in Palestine, high levels of literacy

and advanced learning were not confined to the city of Gaza but spread to the southern periphery of Palestine and school *rhetors* (teachers) often occupied extra-academic civic roles in Gaza and other towns in Palestine. Also, prominent *rhetors* and scholars existed in other Palestinian cities – for instance, the *rhetor* Agapetus of Elusa (Westberg 2017: 401); Elusa was the capital of the Naqab and for a period the capital of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Salutaris in late antiquity. Also, regional schools, theatres and civil institutions played an important role in the spread of literacy in southern Palestine. This is much in evidence in the fact that literary works in Greek and Latin and the classics were taught at sophisticated schools of rhetoric throughout the fourth to the early seventh century in the city of Elusa. The biographies of the *rhetor* Eudaimon, Elusa's officially appointed teacher of rhetoric in the mid-fourth century, and the *rhetor* Agapetus of Elusa, an associate of Procopius of Gaza in the late fifth to the early sixth century, encapsulate the extraordinary combination of local civil and educational leadership that Elusa's schools of rhetoric (as well as the city's cathedral, a theatre, churches, offices, a regional land record and a regional court of justice, and other civic institutions) played in the dissemination of literacy and Hellenic learning throughout the southern periphery of Palestine (Sivan 2008; Westberg 2017: 403).

Secular Scientific Zoological Studies: From Timotheus of Gaza to al-Jahiz and Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi of Islamic Iraq

Under the Byzantines, flourishing Gaza (the rational 'Athens of Asia') and the Red Sea port town of Aelas (modern-day Aqaba) were at the centre of a vast and lucrative Arabian trade, with products from India (from spices to silk and even exotic animals) to the Mediterranean world. Gaza's spectacular secular literary tradition also produced distinguished linguists and grammarians (*grammatikós*) such as Timotheus of Gaza (Τιμόθεος), a Palestinian Christian grammarian. Timotheus also wrote a zoological work in Greek, *On Animals*, for the Emperor Anastasius (r. 491–518). Seen within the context of the revival of 'secular classical education', in late antiquity Palestine, as we have already seen, especially in the fifth to the sixth century, this exceptional work was composed in a sophisticated prose and with accurate factual scholarly description, and without touching on theological perspectives, around AD 512. The work was also quoted by Muslim 'natural scientists' such as physician al-Marwazi (1056–1124) – the author of the Arabic *Book on the Nature of Animals* – who describes vividly two giraffes passing through Gaza brought via Aelas from India (together with an elephant) as gifts for the Byzantine emperor:

> There came to us a man from India, a messenger of the king of India, with two giraffes, covered with cloths and harnessed with many bridles and nose straps,

> that he wanted to bring to the king of Constantinople. He came to our house and I was full of amazement about what I saw of their nature and shape. They had the stature of a camel in height, a skin like that of a panther, long forelegs, a prominent breast and a slender neck. Their head was like that of a camel and so was their mouth. Their teeth were like those of a cow, and their tails were the size of a gazelle's. A rider… sat upon them, and they walked forward by pushing forward their right foreleg and then their left foreleg and then their left hind leg.
>
> (Kruk 2008: 575)

This zoological work on wild animals by Timotheus, which was partly based on the *Historia Animalium* of Aristotle, was known in Syriac and to many authors in the rational Arabic traditions of scientific learning under classical Islam and was among the likely sources for the Arabic zoological work *Nuʾut al-Hayawan* by the tenth-century Arab author Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (Kopf 1956: 390–466**;** Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2018: 245; Timotheus 1949; Zucker 2020: 271–2). It may also have influenced al-Jahiz's (776–869) work on zoology *Kitab al-Ḥayawan* (The Book of Animals), a seven-part compendium on an array of subjects with animals as their point of departure; the work depicts over 350 species of animals (including giraffes and ostriches) as well as micro evolution, which some see as foreshadowing natural selection and the theory of evolution by Charles Darwin. This reading of Darwin's work against the history of sciences in Byzantine Palestine and under classical Islam backward is highly questionable; but the ability of Palestinian Christian and Arab scholars to separate scientific zoology from theology, in an age in which religious dogmas dominated much of teaching and learning in the natural sciences, is highly remarkable. Timotheus also wrote a four-volume work titled *Indian Animals or Quadrupeds and Their Innately Wonderful Qualities or Stories about Animals*, which only survives as an eleventh-century prose summary. This prose summary includes accounts of the giraffe, tiger, ostrich and other wild animals. Timotheus' works were transmitted and admired throughout the Byzantine Empire and became very popular school texts and part of Byzantine and Arabic scientific literatures (Contadina 2012: 48–9; Zucker 2020: 271–2).

Legal Studies in Byzantine Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt: The Law Colleges of Beirut, Caesarea-Paelestina and Alexandria

The culturally relaxed and outward-looking environment and pluralistic traditions of higher learning in urban Palestine, especially in Gaza and Caesarea-Paelestina

(and Alexandria), transformed Palestinian education under the Byzantines, making it among the most advanced in the known world in the fifth to the sixth century.

The dominant paradigm of Byzantine Palestine among Western Byzantinists is that of bilingualism: Greek was the official language of the educational elites and urban Palestine, while Syriac, which was derived from Aramaic, was the language of the peasantry and countryside, although in the absence of mass literacy among the Palestinian peasantry strong aural/oral traditions continued to dominate people's lives. But the picture formed from both the historical and literacy sources is far more complicated. To begin with, although Koine Greek was the official language of the administration in Palestine, Attic Greek – the language of classical Athens 1,000 years earlier – became the language of elite higher education, classical literature and historical writings in Palestine in the fifth to the sixth century. Moreover, archaeological discoveries and the existence of Nabatean Arabs in the south of the country and Arabic-speaking Ghassanite communities and even Ghassanid Arab *federate* kingdoms of Byzantine Palestine (Palaestina Secunda, Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Tertia) in the sixth and early seventh centuries (Masalha 2018: 135–50) make the dominant bilingual Greek/Aramaic model untenable. In fact, the cultural and linguistic makeup of Byzantine Palestine was complex, immigration and social mobility were much in evidence and multilingualism in urban Palestine was not uncommon: in the cities and towns the language spoken was often Greek; whereas, in the villages of Palestine (and Syria), Syriac, closely related to Arabic, was spoken (Evans 2005: 2) in addition to Arabic, especially in towns in the south-eastern parts of the country and in many urban parts of Palaestina Prima.

It is difficult to establish the precise rates of literacy in the multilingual and multicultural environment of Byzantine Palestine. Clearly, however, multilingualism and multiculturalism in urban Palestine are indications of generally high rates of literacy among the social elites of the country and also the existence of a formal system of education which was common in urban Palestine. Also, Greek (both the Koine and Attic dialects) was evidently the language of the educated elites and the language of educational instruction in the elementary schools and higher educational institutions of Byzantine Palestine. Also, in a society with a great deal of social mobility, bilingualism and multilingualism were not uncommon. The formal education system of elementary schools of Byzantine Palestine existed not only in the major cities of the country but also in many towns and large villages across the country. These elementary schools taught literacy and numeracy as well as classical texts of literature and the arts. The discovery of Greek and Arabic papyri documents at Nessana (Greek: *Νιζάνα*), an ancient Nabataean Arab city located in the south-west Naqab desert of Palestine – a locality known to local modern Palestinians as Auja al-Hafir – provided evidence of the teaching of classical texts in the schools of Nessana, a Palestinian Naqab city whose native language was apparently Arabic. Crucially, the city of Nessana served international

transit trade and pilgrims and merchants travelling through southern Palestine to Gaza, Egypt and Arabia, an international trade that was dominated by Arab merchants. The cultural transformation of Palestine from Hellenism to Islam has been widely documented by several authors (Bowersock 2007: 85–96; Cotton et al. 2009). In the mid-1930s hundreds of papyri documents and letters were excavated, dating from the sixth and seventh centuries AD, revealing a wealth of information about day-to-day life in Palestine Nabataean Arab society in the last phases of Byzantine rule and the earliest phases of Arab-Islamic administration. The corpus of Arabic papyri documents discovered by members of the Palestinian Taʾmarah tribe was kept by the Palestine Department of Antiquities and later in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in East Jerusalem (now the Rockefeller Museum). Jean Cascou's *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* states:

> If Byzantinists have been slow to take into account the Egyptian papyrus of late antiquity, they have been quicker to take an interest in those in Nessana. This Byzantine and Umayyad corpus (spanning the years from 500 to 700) was discovered in 1935 at el-Auja, on the frontier between the Sinai and the Negev, which, like Petra, was part of the province of Palestine III [Palaestina Salutaris], a product of the breakup of the old [Roman] province of Arabia. The Nabataean cultural and linguistic base is still visible, notably in personal names. The papyri were probably discarded, but, instead of being destroyed, they were kept in rooms attached to religious establishments. These texts are essentially Greek, but some are bilingual Greek-Arabic, or entirely Arabic. Not all of them were published and the approximately two hundred literary and documentary pieces available in two volumes would benefit from revision.
>
> (quoted in Hoyland 2015: 65)

Among these papyri documents was the private archive of a major family in the city of Nessana covering the years 537 to 593, written in Greek; but the archive also reflects a community whose native language appears to be Arabic (Crone with Silverstein 2016: 17; Shahid 1989: 143–4). One of these Arabic papyri documents was from the local Arab governor, granting the Christian inhabitants of the region *dhimma* status and freedom of worship on payment of the appropriate Jizya tax (Colt 1962; Hoyland 2015: 51–71). The tax was historically levied in the form of a financial charge on *protected* non-Muslim subjects (known as *dhimmi*) to fund the public expenditures of the administration, in place of the *zakat* and *khums* taxes that Muslim subjects were obliged to pay. Another Arabic papyrus document of Nessana described the Islamic coinage instituted within the financial, administrative and currency reforms of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan (646–705), replacing the Byzantine currency with a new Umayyad Arabic currency (Evans 2005: 22).

The multilingual (Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac) environment of Byzantine Palestine, in general, and that of Nessana, in particular, was much in evidence. The native language was Arabic; the Greek papyri documents of Nessana also included

official Byzantine letters, documents and private wills as well as fragmentary texts from Virgil's work and a Latin-Greek glossary of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in Latin and Greek, an epic poem written by Virgil in the first century BC (mentioned in the Introduction). Furthermore, fourth-century documents and letters mention the names of sophists and *rhetors* who were involved in other schools of rhetoric in various cities in Palestine (including Aelia Capitolina, Gaza, Caesarea and Elusa), one of whom even held a chair in rhetoric. The Naqab town of Elusa (whose name was preserved in the modern Arab village of al-Khalasa until 1948), located to the south-west of Beersheba, maintained a school and an official teacher of rhetoric (Hidary 2017: 6).

Pedagogically, in elementary schools teachers supervised the teaching of the alphabets and syllabaries, and taught pupils grammar and classical texts and literature, as well as philosophy, rhetoric, basic mathematics and some basic legal teaching (Evans 2005: 22; Cribiore 2007: 47–8, 57; Hidary 2017: 6). After graduating from Palestinian elementary schools, students coming from middle-class and wealthy social backgrounds seeking employment in the local government of Palestine or a law career in the provincial Byzantine civil service would have to be trained as lawyers in higher learning institutions in the great schools of Gaza, Caesarea, Beirut, Alexandria, Constantinople or Athens.

In Palestine the fairly autonomous great rhetoric School of Gaza not only trained theologians, philosophers and theatrical actors but also provided some basic legal education for would-be lawyers and barristers. As in other schools of rhetoric at the time, the School of Gaza also nurtured theatrical skills and sophisticated hand gestures that enabled *rhetors* to express themselves physically as well as verbally, especially in large theatres or large public spaces, so *rhetors* could also communicate without words (Hidary 2017: 14) – and this hand-gesture training was also useful for lawyers who later went into courts.

This was followed by a four-year structure course in law and the training of professional lawyers was no longer sketchy (Evans 2005: 22); generally, from Hellenistic to early Byzantine times, Greek higher education was fairly institutionalized with well-defined stages (Cribiore 2007: 47). Before Emperor Justinian's imperial 'legal reforms' of AD 529 and 534 there were three schools of law: Caesarea-Palaestina (the capital of Palaestina Prima), Alexandria and Berytos (Beirut). Although the dominant language of Byzantine Palestine at the time (and in Caesarea-Palaestina, Alexandria and Berytos) was Greek, the language and terminology of the law was Latin, used in these three schools of law as well as bureaucrats and officials of the Byzantine Empire being able to read and write in Latin (Treadgold 1997: 128). But the three schools represented a degree of autonomy for legal, philosophical and academic education in Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon. However, also significant is the fact that the centralizing strategy by Justinian did result in the closing down of the law schools at Caesarea-Palaestina and Alexandria and concentrating law study in the 'imperial' colleges of Berytos (Beirut) and Constantinople (Evans 2005: 22); but in 529 Justinian had also closed

down the famous Platonic Academy in Athens, forcing its (polytheistic) academics to seek asylum, probably in 532, at the court of Khosrau I of Persia. Shortly after acceding to the imperial throne in 527, Justinian, to reduce the great number of imperial laws and court proceedings, began to create a 'new imperial order' and a new collection of imperial constitutions (*Codex Iustinianus*) and a collection of fundamental works in jurisprudence (*Corpus Juris Civilis*). The texts of these laws were composed in Latin, which was still, together with Greek, the official language of the Byzantine government, although the common language of urban middle-class merchants in Palestine was Greek, and many seamen, artisans, workers, farmers and soldiers spoke Aramaic and Arabic. Later the *Corpus Juris Civilis* was revised into Greek, the official language of the Byzantine Empire. However, the revived *Corpus Juris Civilis* became the foundation of many civil law jurisdictions and influenced the *canon* (*κανών*) law of the Catholic Church as well as Arabic *qanun* (law), which in the late Middle Ages referred to laws established by Muslim sultans and governors.

Higher education in law in Palestine was significantly reduced by the closure of the law school of Caesarea-Palaestina by Emperor Justinian in 533. Justinian had a number of political, religious and legal objectives in mind, including: (1) imposing an imperial Christian orthodoxy and centralized bureaucracy and common standards of 'imperial' laws on previously fairly diverse and pluralistic traditions of higher Hellenistic education – unorthodox and diverse traditions which were also promoted by Origen in Caesarea-Palaestina two centuries earlier; (2) institutionalizing the discipline of law and the study and practice of jurisprudence and judicial practices in the Byzantine courts of the vast empire; (3) clamping down on perceived non-orthodox teaching traditions in Palestine and Egypt; and (4) suppressing the free-spirited Hellenistic and sophist itinerant and peripatetic teachers of ancient Palestine, Egypt and Greece. For nearly three centuries – from the third to the fifth century – the critical and liberal learning traditions of Caesarea-Palaestina, which echoed the liberal Hellenistic academies of Alexandria and Athens, had a reputation for being nonconformist, bottom-up and radical; this nonconformist tradition of philosophical, religious and legal diversity was not to the liking of imperial Constantinople under Justinian, who was determined to impose a top-down imperial hierarchical legal system on the entire empire, with serious consequences for autonomous higher education in Palestine, Egypt and Greece. Following the closure of the Law Schools of Caesarea-Palaestina and Alexandria – as well as the world-famous Platonic Academy of Athens – almost certainly because of their long tradition of local autonomy and nonconformist religious and philosophical teachings, the Berytos (Beirut) Law School became famous throughout the region for offering a four-year course in law and for the high professional calibre of its faculty and for its excellent legal training in Latin, although Greek had remained as the language of educational instruction in Palestine and the surrounding region in the fifth century. Becoming by the early sixth century the leading law college of the Byzantine Empire, the law

college of Berytos, in the province of Phoenicia Maritima (modern Lebanon), was first mentioned in writing as a major centre for the study of law in the 239 oration in praise of Origen by Gregory Thaumaturgus, the bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia, who had studied under Origen in Caesarea-Palaestina (Collinet 1925: 17; Sartre 2005: 289; Thaumaturgus 1873: [239 AD], 45–6). It was located next to the ancient Anastasis church, today the site of Saint George Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Beirut's historic centre. But in July 551 a catastrophic earthquake destroyed the law school of Berytos. This major earthquake, affecting the entire Lebanese coast, was followed by a tsunami and a great fire that destroyed much of the city; about 30,000 people lost their lives in the devastating combination of earthquake, tsunami and fire, including many foreign law students from the eastern Mediterranean region (Collinet 1925: 209; Sartre 2005: 291). The law school of Beirut was never rebuilt. At that time the law school of Constantinople became a pre-eminent school and the only law school in the East that offered a four-year course in law (Evans 2005: 22) which included the analysis of classical and contemporary legal texts and legal case studies. Commenting on higher education rhetoric and the law schools of the early Byzantine period, Raffaella Cribiore writes:

> The most prominent law school in the East until 551 (when it was destroyed by an earthquake) was located in Beirut. At that time the law school in Constantinople became pre-eminent, but schools of lesser importance were at Caesarea in Palestine and Alexandria… the schools of Alexandria and Caesarea were closed because their teachers were 'unskilled who went around and handed down an illegitimate [religiously unorthodox] doctrine to their students'. It is difficult to say whether political reasons motivated the decision or whether these schools did not have a permanent faculty which transmitted a traditional doctrine. Itinerant teachers in any case, were a feature of ancient education. Information about the curriculum in a school of law exists only for Beirut. Students learned from oral discussions of cases, public and individual *disputations*, and teaching from legal works, but as the knowledge of Latin became increasingly insufficient, a pedagogical innovation was introduced at least in the fifth century. Teachers produced summary translations of legal texts into Greek, which were called *indices*.
>
> (Cribiore 2007: 57–8)

However, there is some evidence to suggest that the law schools of Caesarea-Palaestina and Alexandria were closed because their unorthodox teachings contradicted new hierarchical Christian orthodoxy and faith Justinian sought to impose on the empire (Riddle 2008: 107).

Like modern law schools, these Byzantine law schools of late antiquity sought to professionalize and institutionalize their legal education and provide their students with not only a theoretical legal learning but also with vocational and practical training (Chitwood 2017: 162). A professional lawyer graduating from the law

schools of Caesarea-Palaestina, Berytos or Constantinople would be known as *rhetor* in Latin, or *scholastikos* in Greek, and would join the educated professional elites in Palestine and the Byzantine Empire. These lawyers would train in the famous traditions of the Roman law and Byzantine *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Evans 2005: 21 and 67). From the fourth century onwards the term *scholastikos* became a title favoured by professional lawyers and barristers, a term which distinguished them from *scholarches*, who served as the heads of higher educational schools and institutions in urban Palestine.

One such *scholastikos* was Zacharias Scholasticus, or Zacharias of Gaza (*c*. 465–after 536), known as Zacharias of Mytilene; he was a Palaestina Prima barrister and a bishop and ecclesiastical historian. Zacharias – who was possibly a brother of Procopius of Gaza (*c*. 465–528 AD) (Pummer 2002: 78, 232) – was born in the last third of the fifth century and raised in a well-off Palestinian Christian family near Maiumas, an ancient town (at the site of present-day Rimal), then functioning as the port of Gaza. Like Gaza, Maiumas was an ethnically and demographically mixed town during the Byzantine period. Maiumas hosted a significant School of Rhetoric in late antiquity. At Maiumas, Zacharias 'the Rhetor' received his elementary education. In 485 he travelled to Alexandria where he studied rhetoric, law and philosophy for two years. In 487 Zacharias travelled to Berytos (Beirut) to study law at its famous law school (Gertz, Dillon and Russell 2014: vii–viii; Sorabji 2014: vii). He completed his four-year law course in 491; during this time he also made several journeys to different parts of Palestine and its monasteries in search of religious knowledge. Zacharias of Gaza finally moved to Constantinople where he worked as a lawyer for many years. He apparently had good contacts in the imperial court and the religious establishment in Constantinople, something that also won him the appointment as Bishop of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. Zacharias the Rhetor also composed several scholarly works in Greek, among which is a chronicle called *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Allen 1980: 471–88; Brooks 1919–24; Hamilton and Brooks 1899), completed towards the end of the fifth century, which provides important information about the Byzantine-allied Christian Arabs in Palestine, and *Life of Severus* (Cribiore 2007: 47; Zachariah of Mytilene 2008). In particular, the chronicle of Zacharias provides valuable information on the Byzantine-allied Ghassanid Arab king Jabala IV (Gabalas in Greek sources) (Shahid 1995: 174), who ruled in Palaestina Tertia from 512 to 529 (Peters 1994: 62).

3 GREEK AND SYRIAC INTO ARABIC AND THE PALESTINIAN TRANSLATION MOVEMENT UNDER ISLAM: MONASTERIES OF LEARNING, MAR SABA AND ARABIC *BELLES-LETTRES* (EIGHTH–ELEVENTH CENTURY)

The Christian monasteries which proliferated in Palestine throughout the Byzantine and early Islamic periods played an important part in knowledge production and the copying of ancient papyrus and (animal-skin) parchment manuscripts as well as in the translation and dissemination of texts and learning practices, initially in Greek and Syriac, and under early Islam, from the seventh to the eighth century onwards, in Arabic. Crucially from the mid-eighth century, with the beginning of the Abbasid Caliphate and the Arabic paper revolution, the Arabic language increasingly became the language of the Melkites and Orthodox Christian communities in Palestine, the Near East and throughout the Abbasid state. With the industrial scale of the Arabic technological paper revolution, these communities came to use Arabic, the lingua franca of the Islamic Empire, not just for scholarly purposes but also for the Christian divine liturgy, scripture lessons and literary purposes. This radical departure in the use of Arabic in the Eastern churches and by Palestinian monasteries during the first Abbasid century reached a literary crescendo in Arabic which went hand in hand with the diminishing of Greek as a language of church scholarship in the monasteries of Palestine from early Abbasid times. The first spectacular flowering of Christian Arabic literary activities in Palestine stretched to the late eleventh century, the eve of the Crusades (Griffith 1989: 7–19).

The earliest monasteries in Christianity outside of Egypt were built in southern Palestine, notably that of Saint Hilarion, one of Palestine's oldest Christian monuments, today located in the Gaza Strip. The monasteries of the desert of late antiquity in Palestine, Egypt and Syria played an influential role in Near Eastern societies, and the 'Desert Fathers' are widely acknowledged today as key figures in the history of Christian theology, spirituality and doctrinal developments (Binns 1994). If the Palestine cities of Caesarea-Maritima, Gaza, Neapolis (Nablus) and Ascalon, with their renowned philosophers, mathematicians, rhetoricians, lawyers and libraries, represented Palaestina of the mind and Greek and Syriac learning and texts, the monastic traditions of Byzantine Palaestina represented Palestine of the heart and had a huge impact on the worldwide monastic traditions of both Christianity and Islam and religious mysticism in general.

The region of Gaza, in particular, became renowned for its distinct monastic tradition. Indeed, one of the most spectacular chapters in the history of late antiquity in Palestine was the monastic culture and legacy of Gaza. An intellectual monastic community flourished in the region of Gaza in the Byzantine province of Palaestina Prima from the fourth to the seventh century, creating a distinct Palestinian monastic tradition, shaped by the Christological intellectual battles of the fifth and sixth centuries, and producing a wealth of literary works which might be termed the 'Monastic School of Gaza' (Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2006). Among the Palestinian monastic leaders of the 'Monastic School of Gaza' was Abba Dorotheos of Gaza (505–565 or 620), a monk and abbot of the Palestinian monastery of Abba Seridus, near Gaza (Kazhdan 1991b: 654), who subsequently founded his own monastery nearby. A significant number of Dorotheos' instructions and teachings have survived and have been compiled into *Directions on Spiritual Training*, originally composed in Greek and translated into medieval Syriac, Arabic (and Georgian) (Kazhdan 1991b: 654; Abba Dorotheos 2013), most likely by the Palestinian monks at Mar Saba monastery. Dorotheos' ascetic life, work and teachings contributed greatly to the 'systematisation' of Palestinian monasticism (Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2006: 142).

By the fourth century Byzantine Palestine had effectively replaced Egypt as the centre of desert monasticism. Between the fourth and eleventh centuries, the monasteries of the semi-arid region to the east of Jerusalem – which became known as the desert of 'Iliya', this being the Arabic name for Jerusalem throughout early Islam (al-Maqdisi 2002: 135, 144; Drijvers 2004: 2; Gil 1997: 114) – became internationally known as 'monasteries of learning'. The 'desert of Jerusalem' became the centre of the global Christian monastic movement, with one great monastery, Mar Saba, becoming the centre of international learning. An archaeological survey of Palestinian 'desert monasticism' has found more than eighty monastic sites in the vicinity of Jerusalem in a relatively small area that stretched 80 by 20 kilometres (Natsheh 2010a: 148), possibly the largest concentration of ancient monasteries (with manuscript-production skills) in the pre-modern Middle East. Also, numerous Palestinian monasteries of monks and nuns were established in

the Gaza region, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin), Nazareth and the Galilee with adjacent hospitals and schools to care for the sick and serve their local communities. At the head of this sea of Palestinian monasteries stood the 'Great Laura' of Mar Saba (Matthews 2013: 747), which – following the Abbasid 'Papermaking Revolution' in the second half of the eighth century – rose to become the centre of a Middle East-wide network of monasteries for the production of Christian Arabic manuscripts and religious literature, the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba producing manuscripts for some of the most famous monasteries in the Middle East, including Saint Catherine's monastery in Sinai (Hunt 1994: 238–44), which throughout the Byzantine period and early Islam was among the great monasteries of Palestine.

The numerous monasteries of Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine included the famous Euthemius monastery, which was established in 428 to the east of Jerusalem and named after the Armenian monk Euthemius (377–475), one of the founders of the 'desert of Jerusalem' monasticism of Christian-majority Byzantine Palestine. The monastery of Euthemius would also play an important role in converting to Christianity the Arab tribes that had settled in central Palestine and the region of Jerusalem in the fourth and fifth centuries. The site continued to function as a major Christian monastery for centuries under Muslim rule and the Latin crusaders expanded it further in the twelfth century. The monastery was abandoned after the expulsion of the crusaders from Jerusalem in AD 1187 and from the thirteenth century the site began to function as a major Palestinian caravanserai, al-Khan al-Ahmar (the 'Red Inn'), on the Jerusalem–Jericho trade road, until its final desertion at some point during the Ottoman period.

Another leading Palestinian monastery was the beautiful monastery of Mar Saba, located south of Jerusalem in the West Bank, and organized according to a model completely different from that of the Euthemius monastery. Founded in AD 485, the Great Laura of Saint Sabas, known in Syriac and Arabic as Mar Saba, was dedicated to 'Saint Sabas the Sanctified' (439–532), ecclesiastical leader and one of the principal leaders of Palestinian monasticism; his impact as founder and abbot has endured from the fifth century to the present (Patrich 1995). A year earlier in 484 Sabas had opened the first 'church-cave' on this site. Mar Saba monastery was fortified and garrisoned at the request of Saint Sabas and on the orders of Emperor Justinian in the sixth century (Shahid 1995: 92). In addition to his establishment of the largest monastery in the country, and being the first person in Palestine to formulate a monastic rule in writing, Sabas also founded in 492 a fortified neighbouring monastery of hermits called Marda ('fortress') in Aramaic and 'Kastellion' in Greek, 4 kilometres to the south-west of Mar Saba. The Marda monastery was built on an ancient fortress Hyrcania (Greek: *Ὑρκανία*; Arabic: Khirbet al-Mird). Staunchly Orthodox, Mar Saba worked very closely with Elias, the Arab Patriarch of Jerusalem, who sent Sabas as his emissary to Constantinople to intercede on behalf of the Palestine Church and who persuaded Emperor Justinian to enlarge the plans for the Nea church in Jerusalem to add

an adjoining hospital and hostel for pilgrims (Patrich 1995: 44; Sivan 2008: 224). Completed in 543, this megachurch was destroyed during the Persian conquest of the city in 614.

Becoming internationally known as the 'Great Laura' (or Lavra) for centuries under the Byzantines and throughout early Islam, the monastery of Mar Saba came to be 'the chief of every Lavra in Palestine' (Matthews 2013: 747). Mar Saba became internationally renowned for its great library (*scriptorium*) and as a key multilingual learning centre in the Arab province of Jund Filastin, an administrative province that lasted until the Latin crusader invasion of Palestine and the occupation of Jerusalem in 1099. Mar Saba evolved from a Laura to a 'Great Laura' to a communal monastery and continues to function today. Within the Orthodox and Eastern Christian traditions, a Laura was a specific type of organization of monastic community in Palestine: the Palestinian Laura consisted of a cluster of cells for hermits with a church and sometimes a refectory at the centre of the monastery. From the fifth century the Greek term Laura applied to the semi-eremitical monasteries of the region east of Jerusalem. The Great Laura of Mar Saba was not only one of the most ancient and almost continuously functioning monasteries in Palestine but also became an important Palestinian centre of Arabic and Syriac learning during early Islam. The bilingual world of many Christians in Palestine (and Syria) during early Islam meant that, although the majority spoke Arabic, many continued to use Syriac as the language of scholarship and worship; however, from the eighth century onwards a distinctly original Arabic Christian literature and scholarship began to emerge.

Many Byzantine Palestinian monasteries continued to flourish after the Arab Islamic conquest of Palestine in the 630s and the monasteries of Palestine (under the Greek-speaking Byzantines, the Syriac-speaking Palestinians and the Arabic-speaking Muslims) were a centre for knowledge preservation and knowledge production, from the preservation of the ancient technology of wine-making (of *Palaestini liquors*) to the copying and archiving of ancient manuscripts. Influenced by the Byzantine art of calligraphy and manuscript illumination on parchments, the art of Arabic calligraphy and the copying, production and circulation of manuscripts developed considerably under Islam.

The monasteries of Byzantine Palestine also played an important part in the conversion of some pre-Islamic Ghassanid Arabs of Palestine to Orthodox Christianity, but the Ghassanid Arab Christians largely belonged to Monophysitism. Monophysites believed that there was only one nature in Jesus – the divine – a position that contradicted the official Orthodox doctrine, although Yahya al-Dimashqi described it as not a heresy. In Byzantine Palestine Ghassanid Christian Arabs became the biggest Arab group in the country. After settling in Byzantine Palestine, the Ghassanids created client (buffer) states to the Eastern Roman Empire (later the Byzantine Empire) and fought alongside the Byzantines against the Persian Sassanids and Arab Lakhmid tribes of southern Iraq. Both the Romans and Byzantines found a powerful ally in the Ghassanid Arabs, who acted

as a buffer zone and a source of troops for the Byzantine army and controlled parts of Byzantine Palestine. Ghassanid Arab kings (under nominal Byzantine control) practically ruled Palaestina Secunda (which included parts of Galilee) and Palaestina Tertia (which included the Naqab/Negev) and, together with Byzantine soldiers, defended and protected the holy sites in Palestine (Shahid 2009: 63–4).

Cross-Culturalism and the Golden Age of Learning at Mar Saba under Islam (Eighth–Eleventh Century)

The combined Arabic Christian-Muslim literary heritage of medieval Palestine is rarely explored by historians. Before the arrival of Islam, the Arab Christians of Palestine contributed to the slow but gradual Arabization of the country as parts of it were transformed into Arab statelets under the influence of the Byzantine imperial court. However, Greek (and to some extent Latin) remained the prevalent official language of Byzantine Palestine and the language of learning and education in the country, although the Ghassanid Arabs, who resided throughout Palaestina and in Gaza, spoke Arabic. The integration of the Arabic-speaking Ghassanid Arab migrant communities into Palestinian society in general and the Greek-speaking Palestine Orthodox Church and the Syriac-speaking communities of Palestine, Syria and Iraq in particular was much in evidence and contributed to the process of the gradual Arabization of parts of Palestine beginning in the third to the fourth century with the spread of Christianity throughout the Near East and the gradual conversion of many Arabs to Christianity. While some Ghassanids converted to Islam from the mid-seventh century onwards, the majority remained Christian and joined Melkite and Syriac Monophysite communities of the Levant and greater Palestine.

The Muslims captured Jerusalem in 638, at a time when the city was a stronghold of Christian Orthodoxy. Functioning as the intellectual centre of the All Palestine Church of Jerusalem from the sixth to the tenth century, under Islam the ecclesiastical leadership of the Great Laura (Mar Saba), especially from the early eighth century onwards, not only maintained many of the learning traditions and intellectual practices developed during the late Byzantine period, but also rose to become a leading centre of knowledge production in Palestine. Furthermore, the decline (and subsequent disappearance) of the ancient world-famous ('ecclesiastical') Library of Caesarea-Maritima – together with the ancient world-famous Rhetorical School of Gaza – in the late sixth and early seventh centuries was effectively replaced (and to some extent compensated for) by the spectacular rise of the ('ecclesiastical') Mar Saba monastery as a leading learning and literary centre in Islamic Palestine, whose library achieved its golden age under Islam in the eighth to the tenth century. Throughout early Islam the scriptoria (libraries) of Mar Saba and its nearby monastery of Marda (Kastellion) (Khirbet al-Mird)

became major centres of text production and a new intellectual movement, whose monks and scribes translated Greek and Syriac works into Arabic and stimulated the emergence of an outward-looking cultural synthesis, and Arab translation and literary 'movements' (during the Abbasid period at Mar Saba monastery in Palestine and in Baghdad) aimed not only at the local readership but also at the Arabic speakers (Christians, Muslims and others) of the vast Islamic Empire.

Under Islam in the eighth to the tenth century, at the height of the Arabic translation movements at Mar Saba (Palestine) and in Baghdad (Iraq), and the Abbasid intellectual and scientific revolutions (Al-Khalili 2012), a respected deacon and monk at Mar Saba named George, versed in Arabic and Greek, mentioned a population of 500 monks at Mar Saba; others, however, suggested that the actual figure was between 250 and 450 (Patrich 2001b: 1–2). The cutting-edge Arabic translation revolution of Mar Saba and the translation of works (from Greek and Syriac into Arabic) and transnational cultural production at the library of Mar Saba throughout early Islam show how this was created through influences from 'neighbouring' urban intellectual elites and simultaneously how this cultural production in Palestine influenced cultural and intellectual developments in Near Eastern countries and beyond.

The cross-cultural scholastic traditions and powerful intellectual impact of Mar Saba and other Palestinian monasteries as the most important centres of learning in Palestine in the eighth to the tenth centuries cannot be separated from the powerful influence, socially, economically and institutionally, of the Christian community in neighbouring Jerusalem – or Iliya (al-Maqdisi 2002: 135, 144; Avni 2014: 3–4; Drijvers 2004: 2; Gil 1997: 114). The monks of Mar Saba and the fortune of their monastery were tied up with the spectacular rise of neighbouring Islamic Jerusalem, especially under the Umayyad Caliphs who expanded the Islamic Empire at an unprecedented rate. The cultural activities and humanistic heritage in Al-Quds, another Arab name for Jerusalem, in the eighth to the eleventh centuries and the flourishing intellectual and Arabic manuscript production of the city were much in evidence:

> Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts, written in the monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th century are still extant… *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem*… Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.…[under Islam in the late tenth century] there was a period of Jerusalemites of Iranian origins and of wide humanistic interests.
>
> (Bosworth et al. 1980: 330, 'Al-Kuds')

The rise of Islamic Jerusalem began in the 690s with the Umayyad Marwanid Caliphs who embarked on a colossal building programme in Palestine in general and Iliya (Bayt al-Maqdis/Jerusalem) in particular. The church architectural

styles of Byzantine Palestine and Bilad al-Sham significantly influenced the Islamic architecture of Palestine under the Umayyads, the most celebrated example of which was the exquisite octagonal structure of the Dome of the Rock, sponsored by Caliph ʿAbdel Malik ibn Marwan in AD 685–91. It is the oldest extant Muslim monument in the world and Byzantine Palestine influences are evident in its mosaics. Islam and Muslim Palestine inherited the cultural, material, administrative and intellectual heritage of Byzantine Palestine. Archaeological excavations at al-Ramla, the capital of the Arab province of Jund Filastin for over three and a half centuries, uncovered mosaics with animals including lions, birds and donkeys (Petersen 2005). The Umayyad Marwanid revolution and extraordinary shrewdness and innovation also resulted in the construction by the Umayyad Marwanid Caliphs of a system of opulent and large palaces in Jerusalem, al-Ramla, near Jericho and near Tiberias which give us a glimpse into the centrality of Palestine within this vast Islamic Empire. The reforming Marwanid ruler ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. AD 685–705) is credited with the transformation of Jerusalem, the construction of the Dome of the Rock in the city and the currency reforms, as well as the establishment of Arabic as the official language of the Islamic Caliphate (Ochsenwald and Fisher 2004: 57). However, despite the lasting monumental physical and architectural legacy of the Umayyads in Palestine, it was the Abbasid intellectual (and later higher education) revolution of the eighth to the eleventh century that generated the higher learning revolution and Islamic scholastic colleges of Jerusalem in the post-crusade period.

But of supreme importance to the educational and intellectual revolutions under classical Islam are the Arabic language reforms of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik – a language revolution that subsequently enabled the rise of the 'translation movements' of Abbasid Baghdad and the monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine; a linguistic revolution without which the intellectual revolution of Abbasid Islam might not have occurred; and above all a language revolution that allowed intellectuals and scientists, from the vast region from Andalusia in Spain to central Asia, to converse, debate and synthesize scientific and philosophical knowledge (from Greek, Syriac, Sanskrit and Chinese) in one single language: *Arabic*. For the first six decades of Islam in Palestine, prior to Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's linguistic and administrative reforms, much of the local government's work in Palestine was recorded in Greek and many key positions in the country were held by Christians, some of whom belonged to families that had served in Byzantine administrations. The Arabic language reforms that began with ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan and were maintained by subsequent Marwanid Caliphs meant that Arabic became the lingua franca not only of Palestine but of the whole Islamic Empire, which, at the time, included more than 30 per cent of the world's population. The linguistic revolution, and having Arabic as the single (globalizing) lingua franca for tens of millions of people from Muslim Spain to Central Asia, was also central to the expansion of global trade under Muslim rule. Throughout the Middle Ages, as in ancient times, regional and distant trade remained a key source for the prosperity

of a strategically located Palestine. Arabic and the Arabization of Palestine added more cultural layers to Palestine's already rich and complex identity. The Arabization of Palestine benefited from the fact that the predominantly Christian peasantry spoke Palestinian Syriac (a dialect of Aramaic), a Semitic language closely related to Arabic.

If under the Romans and Byzantines Greek was the elite language of Palestine and the Levant and Hellenization was closely associated with classical learning, higher education and high culture, under Islam literary Arabic and Arabization became a vehicle for globalization, intellectual and educational revolution, and scientific progress. In fact, it is the first time that scientists, from Cordoba to Samarkand (Muslims and non-Muslims), writing and publishing in *Arabic*, began to popularize the idea that science and rational (logical) thinking were 'universal' and not uniquely Islamic or Greek or Indian. Literary Arabic and translation into Arabic became closely associated with scientific inquiry and cultural innovation, expanding international trade and cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, Byzantine Palestine had been plagued by deep class cleavages reflected in linguistic divisions. If speaking Greek was a key marker of metropolitan and urban elite identity and speaking Syriac was a key marker of identity for many ordinary people and the Palestinian peasantry in Christian-majority Byzantine Palaestina, Arabic and Arabization encouraged egalitarianism in Palestine and became key markers of identity for both urban elites and the increasingly Arabized Palestinian peasantry. Islam, under both Umayyads and Abbasids, also absorbed and developed further the Greek Aristotelian philosophical traditions and Christian Neoplatonism, a tradition of philosophy that arose in the third century AD and persisted until shortly after the closing of the Platonic Academy in Athens in AD 529 by Emperor Justinian I. Subsequently, the golden age of Islam also translated these traditions into Arabic and developed them further intellectually and scientifically, first in the Abbasid capital city of Baghdad (from the late seventh century onwards) and later in the Andalus Islamic capital city of Cordoba (from the tenth century onwards).

The Library of Marda's Monastery

The monastery of Marda (or Kastellion) was founded by Saint Sabas in AD 492, about 4 kilometres to the south-west of Mar Saba monastery and 14 kilometres south-east of Jerusalem. Marda flourished for over three centuries, until the ninth century. Marda, Mar Saba and the Palestinian monasteries of this region produced a large number of texts in Greek, Syriac and Arabic dating from the sixth to the ninth centuries. However, although Palestinian monasticism has produced several distinct 'schools' of thought and practices, including the School of Gaza, researchers have tended to focus on a single school: the 'Sabbatine school' of monasticism, and have generally treated Marda as a satellite of Mar Saba, not an autonomous monastery. Yet there are good reasons to assume that Marda (like

many Palestinian monasteries) had its own distinct library and produced its own texts and literature.

In 1952–53 the remains of the library of Marda were discovered in an underground chamber at Khirbet al-Mird, at a site where the modern Palestinian Arabic name has preserved the old Palestinian Syriac name. The discovery included hundreds of Greek and Arabic papyrus and parchment texts, as well as several Christian-Palestinian Syriac fragments of the New Treatment and some verses of Euripides' *Andromache*, a fifth-century BC Athenian tragedy, which dramatizes Andromache's life as a slave and her conflict with her master's new wife, Hermione. The documents now reside at the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller Museum, East Jerusalem) and the University of Leuven (Grohmann 1963; The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library 2021**;** Watteeuw 2018). The manuscripts found at the library of Marda were in three languages: Arabic, Greek and Palestinian Christian Syriac, the dialect used by many Christians of Palestine throughout the Byzantine period and under early Islam (Grohmann 1963; Mansoor 1964: 38–42).

These discoveries are not surprising when taking into consideration that Arabic (in addition to Greek and Syriac) was in common use at Mar Saba and Marda in the eighth century (Sahas 1972: 47). By this stage the libraries had entered their golden age as the leading learning and literary centres in Palestine. The golden age of the libraries of Mar Saba and Marda was closely linked to many cultural and intellectual revolutions of the golden age of Arabic sciences and Islam from the eighth century onwards.

Other lesser-known Palestinian monasteries founded in the desert between Jerusalem and Jericho also created their own libraries and Arabic manuscript-production centres under classical Islam; for instance, the monastery of Mar Chariton was founded in the mid-fourth century in memory of Saint Chariton (Χαρίτων), a mid-third-century monk and one of the early founders of Laura-type monasteries in Palestine (Raheb and Strick 1998: 77). Despite hardship, the Laura of Mar Chariton survived for centuries, including under Frankish rule in Palestine, and was only abandoned during the Mamluk period. Stephen of Ramla was a monk and a scribe at Mar Chariton in the last quarter of the ninth century and he worked on several Christian theological manuscripts and texts, some originally written in Arabic, that have survived into the modern period (Griffith 2008: 52–3; Treiger 2018: 7–47).

Better known to Western scholars as 'John of Damascus' (Greek: *Ιωάννης Δαμασκήνος Iôannês Damaskenos*), Yahya Mansur al-Dimashqi was a giant intellectual of the classical tradition and the golden age of Palestinian intellectual monasticism. This age, which centred on the monasteries of Mar Saba and Marda *inter alia*, began with the spectacular rise of Umayyad Jerusalem under the great Marwanid Caliphs. Yahya's original name was Mansur bin Sarjun al-Dimashqi, after his grandfather 'Mansur'. The names Yahya and *Yuhanna* (from the Greek *Ioannes*, often shortened in Arabic to *Hanna*) were probably added to his Arabic

name Mansur as Christian baptism names, in memory of the Arabic name of John the Baptist, the patron saint of the cathedral of Damascus, or when Mansur was later ordained as a priest at the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba (Bustani 1980: 27). Crucially, the old Arabic names Yahya and Mansur are common to Arab onomatology. Although the Quran never quotes the New Testament directly, *Yahya* is the Quranic Arabic and Syriac name for 'John the Baptist'. Christian Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia and Arabic-speaking Christians in the Levant (Palestine included) were a major group and the 'Nazarenes' (Christians) were an audience to whom a significant proportion of the Quran was addressed (Griffith 2018: 33).

Moreover, Yahya Ibn ʿAdi (893–974) was a Christian scholar and the leader of the Aristotelians of Abbasid Baghdad, with a circle of Christian and Muslim followers, in the third quarter of the tenth century (Griffith 2018: 36), and Yahya Ibn Said Ibn Yahya al-Antaki (also known as 'Yahya of Antioch') was a Melkite Christian scholar who wrote in Arabic and became a well-known 'Arab historian' in the mid-eleventh century (Al-Antaki 1957).[1] Yahya al-Antaki was a relative of the tenth-century Melkite (Orthodox) Patriarch of Alexandria, Said Ibn Batriq (Eutychius) (877–940) – an Egyptian Arab historian (Fortescue 1909), and a contemporary of Suleiman Ibn Hasan of Gaza – an important Palestinian Christian Arab poet, author and Orthodox bishop of Gaza.

Crucially in Palestine, Suleiman of Gaza and other Christian Arab intellectuals in neighbouring countries were key contributors to the creation of new Arabic vocabulary under classical Islam, including terms such as 'secular' (*ʿulmani*) and 'secularism' (*ʿulmaniyya*) (Bishara 2020) as well as 'secularists' (*ʿulmaniyyun*), which in the Arabic Christian vocabulary of the Middle Ages applied generally to non-ecclesiastical lay people (Zaborowski 2019: 472). Interestingly, in the tenth century, as senior Orthodox Arab clergymen who rose to become 'patriarchs' took Greek names, Said Ibn Batriq – whose works on medicine, history and theology were all written in Arabic and preserved in part – when Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria in 933 took the name 'Eutychius' ('courageous') (Fortescue 1909), while in modern times a senior Palestinian Orthodox clergyman Atallah Hanna (born Nizar Hanna in 1965), a well-known Palestinian nationalist figure, took the name 'Theodosios' (gift of God), which was translated back into Arabic as 'Atallah' (gift of God), when he became a monk in Jerusalem in 1991 and was later appointed in 2005 as the Archbishop of Theodosius of Sebastea in the Palestine Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

These ancient traditions of Orthodox and Eastern and Palestinian Christianity (from Syriac and Arabic into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac and Arabic) would have been familiar in the eighth century to Yahya Mansur al-Dimashqi in the way they are familiar today to Archbishop Atallah Hanna. Originally a non-ecclesiastical (secular) Syrian and later a Palestinian monk by adoption, Yahya Mansur al-Dimashqi was born in Damascus in *c*. 675/676, lived for many years and died at the great Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba in 749. Descending from a prominent Arab Christian family, possibly of the Christian Arab tribes of Taghlib or Kalb

(Sahas 1972: 7), the Banu Taghlib tribe, which produced famous Arab poets, had embraced Monophysite Christianity before Islam and remained largely Christian long after the advent of Islam in the mid-seventh century. They allied themselves with the Umayyads and secured for themselves an important place in politics. The Mansur family served both the Byzantine and the Umayyad administrations in Damascus; the prolific author Yahya al-Dimashqi would later contribute to theology, law, philosophy and music. Mansur himself is said to have served as a chief financial administrator to the Umayyad Caliph in Damascus (Akbari 2009: 204; Thomas 2001: 19). Yahya al-Dimashqi, one of the most influential 'Fathers' of the Eastern Orthodox Church, was a key figure in the growth of Arab Christian literature in early Islam and Islamic-Greek philosophy during the golden ages of Islam. Under Umayyad Islam often highly educated and multilingual Christian Arab intellectuals and poets served as teachers and educators for the children of the ruling Muslim elite. Born to an elite native Christian family of Damascus, most likely of Christian Arab origins, known as 'the Mansurs', Mansur's grandfather, Mansur bin Sargun, and his father, Sargun bin Mansur, were among the most educated elite of Damascus and were employed in the Umayyad government as senior civil servants in the financial administration; they were also closely associated with several Umayyad Caliphs in the capital of the Islamic Empire, Damascus, including Muʾawiyah I (602–80) and his son Yazid I (646–83). The latter had grown up in the company of the Christian Arabs, Christian Greeks and native Syrian courtiers of his father Muʾawiya (Sprengling 1939: 194) – and the Taghlibi Christian Arab court poet al-Akhtal al-Taghlibi was one of the most famous Arab poets of the Umayyad period known for his satires and panegyrics in a period when poetry was an important political and intellectual instrument (Griffith 2001b: 21). The Umayyad royal court at Damascus had retained a large group of senior Christian civil servants who spoke Greek, Arabic and Syriac; Mansur's father and grandfather were among them. Mansur (John of Damascus) also had a trilingual (Greek, Syriac and Arabic) education geared towards a senior civil service career under the Umayyad (Vila 2000: 454–63); he wrote in Greek – a language his family had inherited from the Hellenistic Byzantine period but that was still widely used in the Umayyad bureaucracy – while speaking fluently in both Arabic and Syriac. Following the examples of his grandfather and his father he became responsible for the Umayyad state fiscal administration under ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. However, at some point after 706, Mansur abandoned his senior (practical financial) public post and royal court position in Damascus (Louth 2003: 9) for the private contemplative life at the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba where he was later ordained as a priest. Drawing on the rich Christian libraries of Damascus, Jerusalem and Mar Saba, Mansur's classical education included astronomy, geometry, theology, philosophy, languages, music and poetry, which goes some way to explain his subsequent monumental erudition. Together with Mansur, his mentor and adopted brother Cosmas Melodus (Cosmas the Hymnographer), who was born in Jerusalem (Sahas 1972: 7), became a monk in

the great Laura of Mar Saba, but later Cosmas left the monastery in 743 when he was appointed bishop of Majuma (Bogolepov 2005), a port of ancient Gaza. Several of the works of Yahya al-Dimashqi were translated into Arabic during classical Islam.

Palestinian Ecclesiastical Independence and Iconographic Art: Yahya al-Dimashqi, Mar Saba and the Byzantine 'Image Wars' of the Eighth to Ninth Century

As we have seen as a recurring theme, rational philosophy in the service of theology is found in the works of Justin of Nablus (second century) and Origen in Casearea-Palaestina (third century). The same blending of the Christian faith with philosophy, while seeking to provide rational reasoning for faith, can be found in the eighth- to ninth-century works of the cross-cultural intellectuals of Mar Saba, including Theodurus Abu Qurrah and Yahya al-Dimashqi (Mansur), who both produced literature within an Islamic context and also created famous treaties on Orthodox Christology and against the virulent Byzantine iconoclasts of the eighth to the ninth century. The great monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (Mar Saba and Saint Catherine's included) became repositories of many Eastern Orthodox traditions which held that the production of Christian sacred and symbolic images as tools in faith and worship dates back to the very early days of Christianity in Palestine; these traditions are also backed by the archaeological evidence from both Palestine and Syria. Yahya al-Dimashqi was an influential protagonist of visual literacy and the visual representations of sacred images, and among the most influential literary works produced in the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba were two key texts by him: *Three Treatise of Divine Images* (2003), which develops a philosophical account of the use of imagery in worship, and the tripartite *The Fountain of Knowledge* (2015), whose philosophical (dialectical) chapters and classical *Dialogos* present a robust defence of rational (Christian) theology and 'knowledge [as] the light of the rational soul'. Although the last chapter of *The Fountain of Knowledge* engages with Christian Orthodox polemics against Islam, the philosophical wisdom in the book as a whole became a handbook for Christian teachings and Arab Christianity in the East.

However, *The Fountain of Knowledge* should be read within the context of multiple traditions and practices: the Eastern Orthodox tradition; Aristotelian philosophy and logic; the classical scholastic methods of dialogue and disputation; cross-cultural reflections; the classical competitive individualistic debate; and the rise of Islam and Islamic challenge. The anti-Islamic polemics and prejudices of Yahya al-Dimashqi are widely known; yet in his *Dialogos contra Manichaeos*[2] there is evidence of his intellectual approach or 'template for debate' among different traditions within one environment and between two interlocutors: the Christian

Orthodox apologist and 'the Manichean' dissenter – a template that he also applied to the orderly dialogue between two interlocutors, an 'Orthodox Christian' and a 'Muslim', seeking to resolve their differences. These ready-made templates of competitive individualistic debates and logical disputations were furnished by the pre-Christian classical scholastic method of rational disputation as well as the medieval (Christian and Muslim) culture of dialectical pedagogical practices (Novikoff 2013: 20) – the same *Dialexeis* methods and intellectual debates encountered in the discussion of the rhetorical School of Gaza in Chapter 2. These 'templates' of competitive individualistic dialogue were on an equal footing, and debates of the theologies of Islam and Christianity, combined with rational reasoning, created a vibrant Arab intellectual space that began under the Umayyads and continued after the Abbasid Revolution, and was even encouraged by Caliphs such as al-Maʾmun (Griffith 2012: 60) – public debates which created a sense of intellectual freedom, religious tolerance and equality under enlightened Islam.

Influenced by the *Categories of Aristotle*, *The Fountain of Knowledge* was translated into Latin and published in Europe during the high Middle Ages under the title *Fons Scientiae*. Producing a marked impact during the European Renaissance, it influenced the topical methods of writing of early modern Western theologians, who began emphasizing the independence of the humanist mind; the work is also seen as a precursor to the enlightened theological works of Thomas Aquinas (Lupton 1882: 64–89).

The creation and veneration of sacred icons was another major issue addressed by Yahya al-Dimashqi – veneration of which was a widespread practice in the devotional life of Christians and early Eastern Christianity. Using Aristotelian logic and classical philosophical arguments, Yahya al-Dimashqi defended the popular culture of icons and imagery, which celebrated faith in art, lines and colour. The theological-philosophical works of Yahya al-Dimashqi in Palestine propelled him to the forefront of the bitter eighth-century theological 'Iconoclastic controversy' raging within the Orthodox Church, known as the 'image struggles' or 'war on icons', in which the veneration of icons was officially condemned and the legitimacy of sacred images was seriously questioned – since images allowed many Christians to venerate the trappings of Christianity while ignoring its substance. Against the background of this controversy, a distinction should be made between *aniconism* (non-iconism) – an Islamic Sunni tradition consolidated under the Abbasids (not the Umayyads) and a tradition that can also be found in the Old Testament – *iconodulism* (the abuse of the worship of icons) and *iconoclasm* (the destruction of icons), which refers to a period of 'anti-image wars' by the Byzantines. Although the Quran does not explicitly prohibit visual representation of living beings, it uses the word *musawwir* (the fashioner of forms) as one of the ninety-nine names of God. Sunni Islamic *aniconism*, which stemmed in part from the prohibition of idolatry, developed fully under the Abbasids. The latter encouraged Islamic arts, which were characterized by the use of floral, geometrical and abstract patterns, and Arabic calligraphy. Byzantine Iconoclasm, which took place during

the Abbasid period, refers to a controversial time (between 726 and 787) in the history of the Byzantines when the veneration of images or icons was banned and icons were systematically destroyed by the Byzantine imperial authorities and established authorities within the Orthodox Church. An extraordinarily beautiful mosaic industry had developed, and elaborate beautiful ornamentation of churches and monasteries in Byzantine Palestine, artistic icons in worship and relics, holy objects (rather than holy places) and images in the form of mosaics and paintings had been widely used in the early and Byzantine churches and monasteries of the country. Such relics and holy objects were a part of the claimed remains of those who had supposedly come into contact with Jesus, the Virgin and the early saints. However, the misuse and abuse of images (*iconodulism*) had greatly increased during the early eighth century and this had generated a growing opposition from within the Orthodox Church.

Yahya al-Dimashqi was ecclesiastically rooted in the diverse Orthodox traditions of the early Church and the 'autonomous', self-headed Eastern churches and classically educated in the philosophies of figurative representation which took it for granted that the images of gods were not the gods themselves. Often, historians have treated Yahya al-Dimashqi's position against iconoclasm as a personal issue, while ignoring the long-independent traditions and distinct identity of the All Palestine Church of Jerusalem. In fact he and, generally, the patriarchs of Jerusalem were not in favour of *iconodulism* (the abuse of icons), but they also wrote strong tracts against the iconoclasts and, with the waning of Byzantine power (Griffith 1992), they were determined to assert the long ecclesiastical independence (*autocephaly*) of the Palestine Church – independence which had been achieved from the mid-fifth century onwards following the Council of Chalcedon (Gil 1997: 458, n.27; Masalha 2018: ch. 4). But Yahya al-Dimashqi also understood the importance of representation in iconography and the theatrics of icons as a way of communicating and understanding faith via images as opposed to abstract words. In his major work *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, written in support of icons between AD 726 and 730 (2003), Yahya al-Dimashqi became a formidable opponent of iconoclasm. Living in relative isolation from the daily intrigue of politics at Constantinople, at Mar Saba under Umayyad protection in Palestine (when images of living beings and figurative representations were widely used in Umayyad palaces in Palestine and Syria), beyond the reach of Byzantine retribution, he was condemned to death in absentia under his real Arabic name 'Mansur' (Louth 2003: 9; Sahas 1972: 4–5) by the emperors of Byzantium. A key contributor to the literate scholastic methods of reasoning and dialectics, he applied Aristotelian logic, ontology and philosophical insights to matters of Christian dogma and doctrine (Atiya 1965: 76; Koterski 1999). Yahya al-Dimashqi, insisting on the symbolic nature of images and respect for creative representational divine art, made a distinction between the 'worship' of images and the 'veneration' of representational divine images and the images and icons of saints: he was against the worship of material images but strongly defended the

veneration of images (in icons, murals and church mosaics) through which, he argued, divine energy and grace flow – images that also promoted religious art, strengthened popular religion and enriched spiritual experiences (Cormack 1985; John of Damascus 2003). This work of Yahya al-Dimashqi may also have helped to limit the destruction of Byzantine artefacts, mosaics, wall tiles and glassware works of representation in the monasteries of Palestine, art that can still be seen at Saint Catherine's monastery in Sinai, a monastery which for several centuries was part of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Salutaris. It is probably during this period that the Greek term *εἰκών* (*eikṓn*; icon or image) entered the Arabic language as *iquna*, initially in the form of a religious image, through the growth of Arab Christian literature in the eighth to the eleventh century.

Greek and Syriac into Arabic: The Library of Mar Saba and the Rise of the Palestinian Translation Movement under Islam

In *The House of Wisdom: How Arabic Science Saved Ancient Knowledge and Gave Us the Renaissance* (2012), British Arab scientist Jim Al-Khalili argues that the Muslim scholars of the medieval Islamic world, beginning with the Abbasid period and the 'Arabic translation movements', produced a myriad scientific and philosophical innovations and revolutions that bridged the 1,000-year 'gap' between the ancient classical Greeks and modern Europe, and which preceded and enabled the European Renaissance (Al-Khalili 2012). Two qualifications should be added to this neat argument: (1) as we have already seen in Chapter 2, late antiquity in Palestine (as well as Lebanon and Egypt), with its prestigious classical academies and libraries in Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina, which continued into the early seventh century – approximately two centuries before the Abbasid Revolution – bridged parts of the 1,500-year 'gap' between the ancient classical Greeks and the beginnings of the revolutions of classical Islam; and (2) the Syriac Arabic-speaking Christian scholars of Palestine, Syria and Iraq played a key role in the Arabic 'translation movements' and scientific innovations.

Furthermore, the intellectual life of Abbasid Palestine (and the province *Jund Filastin*) was transformed by Syriac Arabic-speaking intellectuals among Palestinian Christians (who also knew Greek), and began to flourish under the Caliph al-Mansur, the second Abbasid Caliph (r. AD 754–75), generally regarded as the real founder of the Abbasid Caliphate, and his successor al-Mahdi, who reigned from 775 to his death in 785. A central figure in al-Mansur's government in Baghdad was a man of Palestinian origin, Abu al-Fadl al-Rabi Ibn Yunus, who served as *hajib*, head of the Caliph court, a wazir (chief minister and confidant of the Caliph), and who also served al-Mansur's heir, al-Mahdi. Al-Rabi came from a Syriac-speaking Christian family originating from Galilee. The Governor of *Jund Filastin* (province of Palestine) during al-Mansur's reign was his uncle

Abu Muhammad Ibn 'Abbas (Gil 1997: 242). During al-Mansur's reign, Islamic literature and Arabic scholarship began to emerge in full force, supported by the Abbasid state, which promoted scholarly research, best exemplified by the Abbasid-sponsored translation movement in Baghdad. Under al-Mansur a committee, largely made up of bilingual Syriac- and Arabic-speaking Christians, was set up in Baghdad with the purpose of translating extant Greek and Syriac works into Arabic. A parallel translation movement led by Syriac- and Arabic-speaking Christian intellectuals emerged in Palestine.

In Palestine until the early eighth century the Christian literature and theology of Palestine was predominantly written in Greek and Syriac. But this history took a dramatic new turn in the eighth century when monks in the monasteries of Palestine, faced with the waning of the memory of Greek-speaking Byzantine power and the rise of Arabic theology of Islam, began to write theology and saints' lives in Arabic, and thus created a spectacular Arabic translation movement in Palestine (and the wider Near East), which rendered the Bible and other Christian texts, in addition to secular texts, from Greek (and Syriac) into Arabic, the language of the Quran, the lingua franca of the vast Islamic world (Griffith 1992). Sidney Griffith, a world authority on Palestinian Syriac Christian writers in Arabic, the monks of Palestine and the growth of Christian literature in Arabic (Griffith 1988, 1992), argues that the first Arabic translations of the Bible began in the late seventh and early eighth centuries (Griffith 2013). The intellectual and scholarly contribution of this translation movement of the monks of Mar Saba led to the growth of local and regional Arabic scholastic methods of learning, and Arabic literature under Islam was multifaceted. Moreover, in effect, this spectacular Palestinian translation movement of Mar Saba created, perhaps inadvertently, new dimensions to both biblical studies in Arabic and Quranic studies.

Indeed, the 'golden age' of literature production and translation activities at Mar Saba began in the eighth century in Abbasid Palestine, with Stephen of Mar Saba (725–94), also known as Stephen the Hymnographer, emerging at the early stages of this new age. Although experiencing disruptions and harsh episodes, including the sacking of the monastery and the departure of three senior monks to Constantinople in 813 (Brock 2001a: 201), the monastery recovered and its golden age as a major centre of translation and literature production continued in the eighth century (201) and well into the eleventh. Stephen of Mar Saba was born to a Syriac-speaking Palestinian family in the village of Julis, in the district of Gaza, which was depopulated by Israel in 1948. For centuries Byzantine Gaza had exerted an enormous influence on the intellectual life of the entire Mediterranean region. Another major Palestinian author named Suleiman of Gaza, who also stayed at Mar Saba, emerged at the centre of the growth of Christian Arabic *belles-lettres* under Islam in the tenth to the eleventh century. A nephew and disciple of Yahya al-Dimashqi, Stephen spent a half-century in the monastery of Mar Saba, had many disciples and is venerated as a saint by both the Orthodox and the (Syriac) Eastern Melkite Catholic Church. Stephen and his disciples left a

legacy of many texts (some still unpublished) for the Arab Orthodox tradition. Stephen managed to transform the scriptorium of Mar Saba, which served as an international centre of manuscript production, and he presided over its translation activities from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, at a time when the Arabic Abbasid cultural revolution, the fine-quality Arab paper industry and the Arabic translation movement in Baghdad were all in full swing. At this time the demand for works and manuscripts in Arabic was at its highest:

> Stephen was appointed to care for the library when he became a cell dweller. This task apparently consisting of the repair, registration, classification etc., of books – he performed… During the period of Muslim rule, many works were translated into Arabic (for the benefit of the Arabic speaking population of Palestine and beyond) and also into Georgian for the benefit of the Georgian monks, whose numbers in Palestine increased… Thus the Laura became an important center for ancient and rare manuscripts… In addition, there was also the original literary activity by the Laura monks.
>
> (Patrich 1995): 190–92)

Towards the end of his life, Stephen wrote about various cities in Abbasid Palestine, including Gaza. One of Stephen's close disciples at Mar Saba was Leontius of Damascus, who became a monk at the same monastery towards the end of the eighth century. When Stephen died in AD 796, an Arabic-language biography of Stephen's life was drawn up within a few years of his death by Leontius of Damascus, entitled the *Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*. In part autobiographical, Leontius' vivid account describes Stephen as a role model for other monks and offers a unique insight into the life of the Palestinian monasteries under early Islam. The account also sheds important light on the social history of early Islamic Palestine, the history of the Jerusalem Patriarchate and early Muslim-Christian relations (Leontius [early 9th century] 1999).

Joseph Patrich, in *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism* (1995), explores the fusing of multiple influences and diverse scholarly and literary activities of the monks of Mar Saba from the fourth to the seventh century:

> Among the monks of the Great Laura [of Mar Saba] mention also made of a calligrapher, a monk of Galatian origin named Eustathius… copying manuscripts… had always been one of the labors common among the monks, who found books to be faithful companions in their spiritual struggles, physical asceticism, isolation, and suffering… [fifth-century] Isaac of Antioch [one of the most distinguished authors of the Syriac literature] speaks of the obligations of the copyists: not to be negligent in their work; to write as they were painting miniatures; to look carefully at the original codex, examining their copy and comparing it with the original diligently; to remove the errors that they had slipped in and to correct the text accurately… not every monk who could write was considered a calligrapher, but only those who excelled in a clear and

respectful attitude to the original manuscript and to the task of copying, which had to be performed with the utmost precision and care…

The Library of the Great Laura [of Mar Saba] undoubtedly contained a large collection of scriptures and patristic literature – writings essential to the Christological and Origenist disputes that occupied the Christian church in the fifth and six centuries and in which the monks of Laura took an active part… For example, among the Laura's books was a treatise of [fifth-century] Antipatrus of Bostra against [unorthodox] Origen…

The fact that the Great Laura [of Mar Saba] was an important center for producing and copying texts of the scriptures is illustrated by the letter of Sabaite[3] monk Antiochus… which goes on to relate the martyrdom of 44 of the [Mar Saba] Laura's monks during the Persian invasion [of Palestine in 614]…

The tradition of copying old manuscripts continued in the Laura in the following generations as well. The library of the Laura is also mentioned in the *Vita Stephani Sabaitae*.

(Patrich 1995): 190–92)

Also, at the Mar Saba monastery library the works of Abba Dorotheos of Gaza, the prominent sixth-century Palestinian leader of monasticism and of the 'Monastic School of Gaza', were (most likely) translated into Arabic. Highlighting the significance of the monastic libraries of Palestine and Syria and commenting on the Origenist intellectual traditions of Palestine – discussed in Chapter 2 – Aleksander Treiger shows

it was Syria and Palestine, and not Constantinople, which provided the continuity in Greek learning in the seventh century.…[and that there were] a number of important philosophical libraries in Syria in the sixth century, notably in Apameia, Harran and Gaza, and even in the mid-eighth century John of Damascus evidently still had access to a very good library, presumably in Mar Saba monastery [in Palestine].

(Treiger 2015: 48)

Commenting on the impact of the cutting-edge Palestinian translation movement and the Abbasid translation movement in Baghdad, Treiger also writes:

This suggests the conclusion that (some) Greek-speaking monks in Palestine in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries were still familiar with the Origenist texts and ideas and continued to write within the parameters of this tradition.

It should also be noted that.… in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, and fourth/tenth centuries, Palestinian monasteries were *cutting-edge translation centres,* where works of Christian theology and hagiography were translated between four languages, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Georgian. It was for instance, in the monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine that the works

of the famous East-Syriac ascetic and mystical writer Isaac the Syrian were first translated into Greek… and subsequently over the course of the third/ninth century into Arabic and Georgian. In the same period Palestinian monks translated from Greek (or Syrian intermediaries) into Arabic works of (or attributed to) John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea [in Cappadocia], Dorotheos of Gaza, Diadochos of Photeke, 'Ephraem Craecus,' Mark the Monk, Nilus of Ancyra, Evagrius Ponticus, 'Macarius,' Anastasius of Sinai and John of Moscthus, among others. *If* al-Himsi[4] was indeed, as suggested here, a Melkite Christian who received his monastic training in Palestine, it is easy to imagine that as part of his education, *he would also have been trained as a translator*. Moreover, if al-Kindi was aware of the Palestinian Graeco-Arabic (and Syro-Arabic) translation movement, he may have been especially keen on recruiting Melkite translators from Palestinian monastries, Al-Himsi could well have been one of them.

(Treiger 2015: 66–7; also Leeming 1997; Griffith 1986: 117–38)

Arabic *Fusha* Literacy and Palestine's Protest Poetry and Literature: Suleiman of Gaza and the Christian Arabic *Belles-Lettres* in the Tenth to the Eleventh Century

The Egypt-based Shiʾite Fatimid state invaded Palestine (and Syria) in 970, conquering the whole of the country in 972. In Fatimid Egypt, Palestine and Syria, Arabic *fusha* literacy was an important vehicle for social mobility and for participating in the hierarchy of society and government bureaucracy; thus, command of reading, writing and speaking literary Arabic, *fusha* – as opposed to just speaking the vernacular (everyday) language, *ʿamiyya* – was mandatory. Also, within the Christian communities of these countries the levels of spoken and written (*fusha*) Arabic were significant (Bierman 1998: 24–5). The growing importance of literary Arabic, *fusha*, among Muslims, Jews and Christians in Fatimid Palestine, not just in the key urban centres of the country but also in small towns, is evident from the letters of the Jewish Genizah of al-Fustat, the capital of Fatimid Egypt. The letters also show the remarkable political rise of a Palestinian, Muhammad Hassan ibn ʿAli al-Yazuri, from a small town in Palestine, Yazur, a town east of Jaffa in the province of Palestine, to become wazir (chief minister) of the Fatimid state. A Palestinian Hanafi Sunni, and a 'Man of the Pen', al-Yazuri's high literacy and personal shrewdness enabled him to rise from a senior administrator in a provincial town to the top of the Fatimid bureaucracy. A former governor of al-Ramla, al-Yazuri served in the capacity of wazir of the Fatimid state, the second most important position after the Fatimid Caliph in Egypt, from 1050

to 1058. He was also personally involved in the affairs of Islamic Jerusalem, the religious capital of Muslim-majority Palestine (Gil 1996: 30, 404).

The all-powerful Yazuri's remit in Egypt was wide-ranging: he 'added to the role of Wazir at the head of government the position of *Chief Qadi* in charge of justice, which he had occupied before his promotion, as well as that of *Chief Dai*' in charge of the propagation of Fatimid doctrine (Brett 2005: 68). However, his extraordinary accumulation of power and offices of state did not save him from being overthrown, evidently because of his connections and correspondence with the Saljuk ruler of Baghdad, and executed by the Fatimid Caliph in 1058 (Brett 2005: 68; Daftary 2001: 109; Gil 1996: 404).

While Yazuri used the power of literacy to accumulate political power in the Fatimid state, others used the remarkable growth of written Arabic *fusha* in Muslim-majority Palestine to protest against the abuses of power by the Fatimid state. The rise of Palestinian Christian literature and the creation of new secular Arabic vocabulary in the eighth to the eleventh century evolved from the theological components of the Christian Arab culture in the early Islamic period and culminated in the Christian *belles-lettres* (*adab*) in Arabic in the tenth to the eleventh century. This *new beginning* and remarkable growth of indigenous Palestinian Christian Arabic *belles-lettres* (*adab*) represented, in the Saidian concept of *beginnings* (Said 1975), both a sense of Christian Arab continuity in Palestine and a rupture with the Byzantine Palestine past.

Arabic poetry had long held a central place in the repertoires of literary and social protest movements among the Arabs. But the religious protest poetry of Palestinian Suleiman Ibn Hasan al-Ghazzi (940–1027) – Suleiman of Gaza – an Arab Orthodox bishop and theologian in Palestine, who flourished during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, holds a unique place in the history of Palestinian and Christian Arab *belles-lettres* and poetry (Idlibi 1984; Khalifé 1966: 159–62; Noble 2014: ch. 6). In addition to al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani, the Arab Christian poet of the Ghassanite court in the province of Palaestina Secunda during Byzantine times, there were other major Christian Arab poets before Islam and throughout early Islam (including al-Akhtal of the Umayyad court) who are widely known to scholars of Arabic literature. Less widely known is Suleiman of Gaza, who wrote exquisite poems during the Fatimid period in Palestine, and whose poems express his joy in the deeply rooted Christian theology of Palestine and celebrate the Christian holy sites of his native country, while at the same time lamenting the untimely loss of his son (Treiger 2012: 99). Living in a difficult period in Fatimid Palestine, Suleiman of Gaza implicitly protested against the destruction of Palestine's Christian holy sites by Caliph al-Hakim. To employ the *contrapuntal* analysis developed by Edward Said – Suleiman of Gaza composed a large body of religious protest devotional poetry in Arabic, which was the first collection of Christian religious Arabic poetry in the Near East (Noble 2014: ch. 6). Suleiman's personal verse and *Diwan* (a collection of poems by one author) – ninety-seven long poems with three thousand lines – deal

exclusively with Christian Arab themes and concerns, evoke deep memories of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and celebrate the Christian sacred geography of Palestine (Griffith 2008: 170, Maxton 2019: 91–9; Noble 2014: ch. 6) – at a time of deep concern over Fatimid persecution of Christians, beginning in 1009, and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, Saint George's of Lydda and other Christian churches and monasteries in Palestine and Syria. After al-Hakim's death in 1021, religious tolerance in Muslim-majority Palestine was restored, the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt with magnificence and Christian pilgrims were once again flocking to Jerusalem. Although the monastery of Mar Saba escaped destruction by al-Hakim, in the eleventh century it was no longer the top Christian Arabic intellectual centre in the Near East; its leading Arabic cultural role was gradually replaced by the Eastern monasteries in Iraq. However, the poems and hymns of Suleiman of Gaza were frequently sung or set to music. Suleiman had experienced monastic life and the flourishing hymnography in the monasteries of Palestine in his formative years, an experience that was to have a profound impact on his subsequent pioneering Palestinian Christian religious Arabic poetry and Palestinian secular poetry in general; an Arabic performance poetry – which in modern times can be best illustrated in the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish – that combined both poetry and music and became an important vehicle for moving audiences.

Suleiman of Gaza would also return to monastic life in old age, after experiencing several family tragedies, and was ordained to a see in Palestine at the age of eighty (Noble 2014: ch. 6). A man of great learning who left an impressive volume of writings, his Arabic poem written in the early eleventh century celebrates with religious fervour the diversity and racial harmony within the Palestine Church and the Church in the East as a whole (SAMN! 2014).

The Arabic literary and intellectual life of Fatimid Palestine (like in Abbasid Palestine) was always part of the wider shared context of Arabic and Islamic learning – a context shared by Arabic-speaking Muslim Arabs, Christian Arabs and Arab Jews. The 'original' Christian theological and cosmological ideas of Suleiman of Gaza, which blended scientific and theological issues, bear similarities to those ideas promoted by the Basra-based Muslim group of intellectuals and sages known as 'Ikhwan al-Safa' ('Brethren of Purity'), the authors of one of the most complete medieval encyclopaedias of natural, psycho-rational and metaphysical-theological sciences. Assembled over the course of several decades between the ninth and the first half of the tenth century, and echoing the changes in Greek sciences and philosophies during the tenth century, this medieval Islamic encyclopaedia was an antecedent by at least two centuries to the best-known encyclopaedias in the Latin West (Noble 2014: ch. 6; Baffioni 2016). In addition to poetry, other literary Arabic genres such as *maqamat* (literally 'places') were popular among Christian Arab authors. The *maqamat* consisted of a prose work of fiction and a system of habitual eloquent melodic phrases that celebrated the wisdom of individual figures and exposed 'the foibles of rich, learned, or well-placed members of society' (Griffith 2008: 170).

One of the multiple roots of Christian Arabic *belles-lettres* in the eighth to the eleventh century can be traced to the most important Palestinian learning centre during this period: the Mar Saba scriptorium. Mar Saba led the phenomenal growth of high-quality treatises (in history, theology, philosophy, natural and cosmological sciences, poetry, dogma, prayer, liturgy, monastic life and melodic hymns) and the distinctive scribal activity of copying (mostly on animal-skin parchments) and translating of Greek manuscripts into Arabic, and then from Arabic into Georgian. This achievement can also be seen in the following examples of the works of the key authors of Mar Saba monastery:

- The poetry and hymns composed at Mar Saba monastery were described as 'the most original manifestation of the poetic genius of the medieval Greeks' (Dalrymple 2004: 290) – and include hymns that are sung today by myriad Christians all over the world.
- At Mar Saba's scriptorium Cyril of Scythopolis (or Beisan, 525–59) – a monk and historian of monastic life in Palestine in the early years of Christianity – wrote his *History of the Monks of Palestine* (*The Lives of the Monks of Palestine,* 1991), 'an unusually critical and intelligent work of hagiography' (Dalrymple 2004: 290) – which was translated into Arabic in the ninth century (Linder 1996: 145).
- Antiochus of Palestine ('Antiochus of Mar Saba', also identified by some authors as Antiochos Strategos) was a seventh-century monk of Mar Saba and the author of the *Pandects* (Greek: *pandéktes*, 'encyclopaedia'), a compendium of teachings and discourses (such as 'meekness' or 'hierarchy') drawn from scripture and from early ecclesiastical writers. The Greek original of the text, written in the 620s, was lost, but the work is preserved in Arabic and Georgian versions (Kazhdan 1991a: 119–20).
- At Mar Saba, Yahya al-Dimashqi (John of Damascus) wrote his great three-volume *The Fountain of Knowledge,* one of the most important works of the Greek patristic age and 'possibly the most sophisticated and encyclopaedic work of theology produced anywhere in Christendom until the time of Thomas Aquinas' (Dalrymple 2004: 290) – the translation of which into Arabic has survived in a very large number of manuscripts (Linder 1996: 145).
- Leontius' (of Damascus) Arabic *Life of Stephen of Mar Saba* (written after AD 796) sheds important light on the social history of early Islamic Palestine, the history of the Jerusalem Orthodox Patriarchate and early Muslim-Christian relations in the country.
- Theodurus Abu Qurrah's *De Cultu Imaginum* (*c.* 877) is a theological treatise in defence of visual literacy and the veneration of images originally written in Arabic, with Kufic style. The book, which included Arabic translations of passages of the Old and New Testaments, was an important contribution to the Arabic Christian literature of the eighth century.

If in the third to the sixth century under the Romans and Byzantines international scholars and monks came to Caesarea-Palaestina to study and

produce works at its then widely known classical library (the 'Library of Origen and Pamphilus'), in the sixth to the eleventh century under Islam international monks and Christian scholars arrived in the Great Laura of Mar Saba to learn and produce work at its internationally renowned scriptorium. Also for several centuries throughout early Islam the Great Laura of Mar Saba 'served as the intellectual centre' for the All Palestine Orthodox Church of Jerusalem[5] and for Palestinian Christianity (Tchekhanovets 2018: 206) and its library continued to attract a large number of leading Christian monks and scholars from both the Islamic and Christian worlds: Armenian, Syrian, Greek, Georgian, Iberian, Serbian and indigenous Palestinian Arab monks, the latter often drawn from urban elites and whose contacts and interactions were largely with urban societies and with pilgrims on their way to the holy sites of Palestine. According to Joseph Patrich, 'most of the heroes of Palestinian monasticism were men of the urban elite or sons of wealthy landowners' (2001b: 1). The monks of Mar Saba lived and worked in the various great monasteries, many of them being involved in copying manuscripts, translating books into many languages ('Greek-into-Arabic', 'Syriac-into-Arabic' and 'Syriac-into-Greek' included; Brock 2001: 201–8) and creating their own literary works in the scriptorium of the Great Laura. Commenting on the literature and translated works at Mar Saba and the intellectual and scholarly contribution of Yahya al-Dimashqi at the great monastery, Peter Schadler writes:

> It is presumed he wrote much of what we have of his works today at this stage of his life, while accessing either the patriarchal libraries in Jerusalem, or the library at St. Sabas, both of which were excellent libraries.
>
> (Schadler 2017: 101)

Patrich adds: 'The Greek translation formed the basis for a considerable number of subsequent translations into Arabic [eighth–tenth century], Georgian… Latin and Slavonic (fourteenth century) and European languages (since the fifteenth century)' (Patrich 2001b: 10).

Literary vernacularization (and the movement from Greek into Arabic) was one of the key markers of the construction of a new cultural identity in Muslim-majority Palestine. Commenting on the accelerated and rapid process of Arabization of Palestine in the eighth century and the numerous works of Christian Arabic literature produced at Mar Saba and their impact on the Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem, Amnon Linder writes:

> Arabic-language religious literature written between the ninth and eleventh centuries, therefore, was thus not intended for Arabs who had converted to Christianity, but rather for the Greek-Orthodox population, and attests to the rapid adoption of Arabic as the third language of prayer, alongside Greek and Syriac. Since Greek retained its special status as the language of the higher clergy and as the language for religious studies in Jerusalem, it may be assumed that Arabic replaced Syriac and became, alongside Greek, the

language of the lower-class Greek Orthodox populace. From there Arabic even penetrated the monasteries. Its dissemination and adoption in the Greek Orthodox community is evidenced in the proliferation of various types of Christian treaties translated from Greek into Arabic, and of original Arabic language works. Noteworthy among the translations is the Arabic versions of the biographies of the Palestinian monks by Syril of Schythopolis [Beisan]. The earliest [Arabic] manuscript of this work is from the second half of the ninth century. Another copy of this translation, dated 885, was copied in St. Sabas. The Arabic translation of 'The Life of Syracos', by Cyril of Schythopolis, even served as the basis for the Georgian translation. The Arabic translations of the writings of Ibn Mansur, and particularly of his tripartite '*Fountain of Wisdom*' [*Fountain of Knowledge*] have survived in a very large number of manuscripts.

Another work which originated in St. Sabas – a description of the conquest of Jerusalem and its destruction by the Persians [in the early seventh century] is written by Eustratios… a monk at the monastery – was rendered from Greek into Arabic as early as eight or nine centuries… During 885/886, an Arabic translation of the 'Homily of Ephram' was made by the monk Antonios David b. Sulaymn (or Ibn Sina) in the St. Sabas monastery… Particularly instructive is the role of Arabic translations as an intermediary stage between the original Greek texts and the Georgian translations… .one should also note among the books translated from Arabic into Georgian the 'Life of St Stephen of St Sabas Monastery'…

[T]he original works by Theodoros Abu Qurra [*sic*] are indicative of the beginnings of creative writing in Arabic… Altogether, Theodoros wrote some twenty works in Arabic, greatly influencing the development of Islamic dogma.

(Linder 1996: 145–46)

Georgian manuscripts played an important role in tracing the history of the appearance of the Arabic language in the literature of the Palestinian monasteries in first-century Abbasid Palestine (Griffith 1988: 15). This is mainly because many Georgian translations were based on the Palestinian Arabic works and Arabic translations produced in the scriptorium at Mar Saba. Yana Tchekhanovets writes:

The most important Georgian hymnographical works were also composed in the Laura of St. Sabas during the ninth–tenth centuries. Thus, Basil Sabatsmindeli[6] is known as the author of canticles in honor of St. Sabas, and the poetic *Martyrdom of St. Michael Sabatsmindeli*. Other well-known ninth century scribes from the Laura of St. Sabas are the scholars Michael Schikhuareli, Michael Dvali, Ioanne Kius and Hilarion the Iberian.[7] The famous Georgian scribe and hymnographer Ioane-Zosime,[8] who compiled the liturgical calendar of the Jerusalem Church… lived in the Laura of St Sabas in 945–965. Traditionally, Ioane-Zosime is regarded also as the author of *Ode to the Georgian language*… His handwriting and book-binding style are

easily recognized by modern scholars who work on the St. Sabas and Sinaitic Georgian manuscripts.

(Tchekhanovets 2018: 207)

It is also worth noting that the Abbasid intellectual revolution, which was based on the Greek-Syriac-Arabic translation movement, took place in Baghdad from the 760s to the late eleventh century and involved a large, systematic and sustained effort to translate a significant number of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic, which may have benefited, at least indirectly, from the initial translation of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic either at Mar Saba or by monks who lived at Mar Saba and subsequently moved to Iraq.

The boom in literary production, fuelled by the Abbasid intellectual and technological (papermaking) revolutions, and ushering in a 'Golden Age' of Arabic learning and sciences in Baghdad from the second half of the eighth century onwards, was mirrored by a literary boom in a 'Golden Age' at the Mar Saba monastery – which functioned as the hub of a vast network of monasteries (and manuscript production) in the Near East – in Palestine in the eighth to the tenth century. Arab monks and Syriac Melkite Christian intellectuals in Palestine, Syria and Egypt were viewed by the Abbasids as heirs to Greek sciences and Syriac learning. In the transfer and translation of sciences and knowledge from Greek into Arabic and from Syriac into Arabic (Heilo 2016: 114–15) the Syriac intellectuals of Mar Saba (and generally of Palestine and Syria) played a central role. Also, while Yahya al-Dimashqi (John of Damascus) wrote in Greek at Mar Saba and his work was later translated into Arabic, his successors at Mar Saba, especially Theodurus Abu Qurrah (Greek: Theodoros Aboukaras; Arabic: Awaḏros Abu-Qurrah [*c.* 755–*c.* 825]), wrote in Arabic. Today the Arabized descendant of the name 'Theodoros', 'Tadrus', is common among Christian Arabs, reflecting the shared heritage of medieval and modern Arab Christianity. Archbishop Theodurus Abu Qurrah, of Harran, in northern Syria, was an early ninth-century Syrian Melkite theologian and linguist who lived in the early Islamic period and was an early exponent of cultural exchange with Islamic and other non-Christian peoples and Eastern Christian churches. He wrote highly original works in Arabic and Syriac, which were translated into Greek and circulated in the Byzantine Empire, and was known as one of the first Arabic-speaking Christian scholars to write mostly in Arabic (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998b). He is the first writer to have regularly written Christian theology in Arabic and for Arab audiences, thereby creating a vibrant Christian Arab intellectual space in the Abbasid Caliphate (Griffith 2012: 60). Sydney Griffith sheds fascinating light on the vibrant intellectual culture produced by both Theodurus Abu Qurrah and Yahya al-Dimashqi and those Arab Christians at Mar Saba, Jerusalem and Baghdad who laboured over translations, rendering Greek philosophy into Arabic (Griffith 2012). Theodurus Abu Qurrah, having become a monk at the Laura of Mar Saba, continued his work in ascetical spirituality, which was begun by Yahya al-Dimashqi. Also at Mar Saba, Theodurus began his Arabic and Syriac writings,

including writing tracts on rational philosophical theology which argued for monotheism, the possibility of revelation, human freedom and divine justice. He translated Greek philosophical works into Arabic and used rational philosophical arguments designed to articulate traditional Christian teachings, at times using the language and concepts of rational philosophers. Rearticulating Christian theology by using the language and concepts of philosophical theologians (*mutakallimun*), Theodurus Abu Qurrah has been described by Sidney Griffith as a Christian *mutakallim* (Griffith 1979: 29–35; 1985: 53–73; 1994: 1–33; Theodurus Abu Qurrah 2005). Combining faith and reason, Theodurus Abu Qurrah attracted the attention of some rational Muslim Muʾtazilite *mutakallimun*; thus his writings, most likely, influenced some rational Muslim philosophical theologians: the Muʾtazilites (Griffith 1979: 29–35; 1985: 53–73; 2008: 107; Lamoreaux 2009: 439–91), the early ninth-century Muslim theological school that produced the first rational philosophical exposition of Islamic doctrine (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998b). Operating within an Islamic context and often feeling the need to respond to the challenges of Islam, Theodurus Abu Qurrah is also known to have held debates at the *majlis* of the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmun (r. AD 813–33) in Baghdad on Islamic and Christian theologies and shared monotheism (Griffith 1994: 7; Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998b) – debates that were stimulated by the Caliph al-Maʾmun's own enthusiasm for Greek sciences and learning, interest in translations from Greek and Syrian into Arabic, and efforts to obtain ancient manuscripts from the monasteries of Palestine, Syria and Egypt (Heilo 2016: 114–15). The interfaith debates in the royal court of al-Maʾmun and other Abbasid Caliphs were later written in a literary fiction style for the enjoyment of both Christian and Muslim readers.

In addition to his known religious liberalism and to taking part in interfaith dialogues, Caliph al-Maʾmun also took a keen interest in Jerusalem; he visited Jerusalem in 831, although it is not known whether he visited nearby Mar Saba, and he ordered that restoration work be carried out on the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. But al-Maʾmun's maladroit effort to claim credit for the monumental achievements of the Umayyad Marwanid Caliphs in Jerusalem can also be seen in the course of his restoration work in the Haram compound: the name of Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malek ibn Marwan was removed from the Dome of the Rock and replaced with the name of al-Maʾmun. But the original Umayyad date for the construction of the Dome of the Rock (72 H; AD 691) was kept unchanged, a Kufic founding inscription date that has survived until the present day (Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 96). However, Muslim historian and traveller Nasir-i Khusraw describes a large beautiful bronze portal in the al-Aqsa Mosque, with the name of al-Maʾmun inscribed in silver, which was sent by al-Mamʾun from Baghdad (Elad 1995: 41).

In their relative 'isolation' at Mar Saba and close proximity to vibrant Islamic Jerusalem, intellectuals such as Yahya al-Dimashqi and Theodurus Abu Qurrah continued to develop unorthodox and nonconformist theologies, while blending

these with Aristotelian logic and contemplative rational philosophical insights to support their theologies, leading to the rise of Arab Christian literature, which combined philosophy and theology within an overall Islamic setting. In many ways, both Yahya al-Dimashqi and Theodurus Abu Qurrah were heirs to the dissident traditions of Origen and the Origenists of Caesarea-Palaestina half a millennium earlier. Likewise, the unorthodox Islamic Muʿtazilah (Arabic: 'those who withdraw' to contemplate) Islamic school of rationalist contemplative theology flourished in the Iraqi cities of Baghdad and Basra during the eighth to the tenth century (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 2020a). It has been suggested that the Arab Christian *mutakallimun* and the Arab Muslim *mutakallimun* mutually influenced each other; but whether or not there were any direct influences – and notwithstanding their self-understanding and mutual prejudices – the parallels are revealing.

With the rise of Islam, accompanied by the spread of literary Arabic and its establishment as the lingua franca of the Islamic Empire, Arabic began rapidly to replace Greek as the language of learning, education and scholarship. While under Byzantine rule the world-famous Palestine monasteries were instrumental in spreading Greek learning, under the Muslim Arabs these same Christian monasteries and their Syrian and Arab monks became instrumental in translating Greek learning into Arabic and producing new Arabic scholarship and literature in Palestine (and beyond, especially in Syria and Iraq).

Although the heavily fortified Mar Saba did suffer from time to time from internal disturbances and sieges, such as the intertribal warfare of 796, it continued to flourish during the Abbasid period. Many of the senior monks of Mar Saba (and Jerusalem), who were versed in literary Arabic, Syriac and Greek, moved freely around the great Islamic learning centres, from Baghdad and Mosul to Cairo, north Africa and Andalusia (Griffith 2001a: 1–2). Following the original Arabic and rendering into Arabic of the works of Theodurus Abu Qurrah and Yahya al-Dimashqi in the Palestinian monasteries, especially at Mar Saba, in the eastern Patriarchates of the Orthodox Church, Arabic gradually became the main language of the Melkite, or *rumi*, community of Christians in Muslim-majority Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Iraq; the monasticism of Mar Saba and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem became central to the religious and cultural life of the entire Melkite community throughout the Islamic Caliphate (Griffith 1989: 7–19; 1994: 1–33; 2001a: 157–58).

Furthermore, Christian Orthodox Arabs in Palestine and neighbouring countries came to use Arabic for educational and scholarly purposes as well as for liturgy and scriptural lessons. This use of Arabic went hand in hand with the diminishing of Greek – a language that had dominated the learning practices, education and scholarship of Palestine for centuries under the Roman and Byzantine empires – as a language of church scholarship in the monasteries of Palestine from early Abbasid times until the early Ottoman period, when the Ottoman '*rum millet*' system reintroduced the control of Greek Orthodox monks

and the hierarchy in the Jerusalem Patriarchate (Griffith 1989: 7–19). This critical sixteenth-century Ottoman policy to privilege Greek and the Greek monks over Arabic and the local Arab monks within the All Palestine Orthodox Church of Jerusalem created an historic (Arabic-Greek) schism within the Orthodox Church of Palestine, which has endured until the twenty-first century. For decades in modern times the local Palestinian Arab clergy championed cultural and linguistic autonomy for the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem whose leaders and Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem since the sixteenth century have been importing senior clergy from Greece. From late Ottoman Palestine until today the idea of cultural and linguistic autonomy for the Orthodox Arabs of Palestine has had a galvanizing effect on educated local Palestinian Orthodox Christians, many of whom were to become leading cultural figures, at the forefront of the Palestinian cultural and nationalist struggle (Masalha 2018: 253–4). While Palestinian monasticism, and its literary and liturgical heritage in the Orthodox Church, from the sixth century to the present, is widely acknowledged by historians (Patrich 2001b), the important Palestinian Sabaite intellectual Arabic heritage, and its impact on the growth of Palestinian Christian Arab culture in the country, is less acknowledged. Typically, Joseph Patrich's important work *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism* (1995) – which should have been published in Arabic and made available to indigenous Palestinian Arabs – was published in Hebrew by the Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi Institute for the study of Jewish communities in the East and Israel Exploration Society in Jerusalem in 1995 under a title that was designed to eliminate the term 'Palestinian' and to emphasize the term 'Judean Desert': *The Judean Desert Monasticism in the Byzantine Period: The Institutions of Sabas and His Disciples*. While the courts of the pre-Islamic Ghassanid Christian Arab kings of Palaestina Secunda and Palaestina Salutaris contributed to the early flowering of Arabic poetry and Arabic oral traditions in Palestine,[9] the great monastery of Mar Saba and other Christian Palestinian monasteries contributed to the first flowering of Arabic Christian written literature in Palestine, which occurred during the three centuries stretching from 750, the beginning of the Abbasid Caliphate, to around the year 1050, the eve of the Crusades (Griffith 1989: 7–19). The evidence for the literary activity of Palestinian monks who wrote in Arabic during early Islam was generally classified under 'old south Palestinian texts', which Joshua Blau studied for his *Grammar of Christian Arabic* (Blau 1966–1967; Griffith 1989: 7–19).

The Poets, Singers and Hymn Writers of Mar Saba

Music and the singing or composition of melodic hymns were an important part of communal worship in ancient Palestine and the Near East and the evolution of these musical traditions reached new heights at Mar Saba and the monasteries of Palestine. If music and the creation and recitation of melodic hymns were central

to the distinctive pedagogy of Yahya al-Dimashqi and the poet-singers of Palestine, the music and hymn writing of Mar Saba was particularly influential within the context of the powerful aural/oral cultures of Palestine and the Near East. Palestine's distinctive and shared traditions of production and transmission of culture (oral and written) can be found throughout the ancient, medieval and modern periods and across the four monotheistic (Abrahamic) traditions: Islam, Judaism, Christianity and Samaritanism. The distinct tradition of melodic reciting, chanting and narrating the Quran aloud ('*Qiraʾat*'; recitations; *taghanni:* reciting with a tune and in a melodious voice), based on melodious voices, but without turning the chanting into a song, is famous in Islam and goes back to early Islam. Another distinct tradition is that of the composition of liturgical and melodic hymns rooted in old traditions of the All Palestine Jerusalem (Orthodox) Church and Eastern churches. In addition to becoming an international centre of translation, literary activity and the composition of philosophical and liturgical books, from the early eighth century Mar Saba also became an international centre for monastic hymnology and hymnography for the Orthodox Church and Eastern churches in Palestine, Syria and beyond. In the eighth to the tenth century Mar Saba was transformed into a creative laboratory for the composition of religious songs and melodic chants, musical hymns and poetry, composed by a formative generation of monastic poet-singer-hymnodists, whose achievement was rooted in the powerful aural/oral traditions of Palestine, Syria and the Near East. Among the leading figures in the group of Mar Saba's poet-singer-hymnodists were the eighth-century Cosmas Melodus (Cosmas the Melodist or the Hymnographer), later bishop of Maiuma (Atiya 1965: 75), and Stephen of Mar Saba (also known as Stephen the Hymnographer), a nephew of Yahya al-Dimashqi who spent a half-century in the monastery of Mar Saba. Yahya al-Dimashqi himself became an important versatile hymnologist at Mar Saba, and his hymns and his creation of a main genre of 'Octoechos' hymn (*Ὀκτώηχος*), the eight-sound mode system used for the composition of artistic liturgical chants, won him and Mar Saba fame during his lifetime and are still read in the Eastern Church and Arab Christianity today (75–6). Other traditions connected to Yahya al-Dimashqi survived in Arab Christianity into the modern period. Under the Ottomans, Syria, and Aleppo in particular, remained a thriving centre of Arabic icon production. In the nineteenth century, generations of Arabic iconographers – including Youssef al-Musawir, Yussef Nehmat-Allah and Neʾmeh Naser Homsi, who all borrowed from Byzantine art, Islamic bookbinding art and Ottoman art to produce Arabic icons of Yahya al-Dimashqi – were surrounded by the words of Yaya al-Dimashqi's hymns in Arabic; some of the iconographic works are kept in the manuscript conservation centre of the monastery of Our Lady of Balamand in northern Lebanon (Our Lady of Balamand Patriarchal Monastery n.d.).

Also, in its golden ages, among the most characteristic examples of the Mar Saba melodic hymn tradition and religious melodies were the artistic liturgical chants known as 'canons'. In Europe during the high Middle Ages and Renaissance

a *canon* (derived from the Greek 'κανών' which means 'law' or 'rule') – which originated from the eighth-century Greek Byzantine and Palestinian-Syrian church hymns, or *canons*, of the great Laura of Mar Saba – became known as a contrapuntal compositional technique that employed a melody. But during the classical ages of medieval Islam the *qanun* became the Arab musical instrument par excellence. Originally borrowed from the Greek word (*κανονάκι*), and influenced by the eighth-century formative melodies of Mar Saba known as 'canons', the Arab *qanun* as a musical instrument evolved further into a distinct Islamic tradition in the tenth century and is usually constructed with five skin insets that support a single long bridge resting on five arching pillars. Appearing in the folk tales of the *Arabian Nights*, compiled in Arabic during the Islamic golden ages, the Arab *qanun* was mentioned in al-Farabi's *The Great Book of Music* (*Kitab al-Musiqi al-Kabir*) in the tenth century (Druart 2020). Al-Farabi had spent most of his life in Baghdad and Aleppo and had visited Jerusalem (and died in Damascus) and had studied Aristotelian logic, music, medicine and sociology with Nestorian cleric Yuḥanna bin Ḥaylan and other Arabic-speaking Christians in Baghdad who became well-known translators of Greek texts (available in Syriac) into Arabic. Working later in the Hamdanid royal court of Sayf al-Dawla**,** the founder of the Emirate of Aleppo in northern Syria in the tenth century, al-Farabi became an expert on Arab musicianship and Islamic musical theories based on local performances and Eastern traditions of music. Illustrations of *qanun* and a Palestinian Arab *qanun* 'expert performer' in Jerusalem were published in 1860 (Thomson 1860: 576–77). The 'canons', artistic liturgical melodies of Mar Saba, survive in two distinct traditions: (1) that of the modern eastern churches of Jerusalem and the Near East, and (2) the secular popular tradition of Palestinian Arab *qanun* musical performance; this is another marker of the complex and rich heritage of Mar Saba.

Visual Literacy, from Mansur bin Sarjun to Sliman Mansour: The Impact of Church Iconography on Modern Palestinian Art

Symbolism in Palestinian art and iconography has played a big part in modern Palestinian art, before and since the Palestinian Nakba of 1948. Cultural images, signs and symbols have also played an important part in Palestinian arts and education processes in both the pre- and post-Nakba periods. Generally, signs and symbols are an important part of educational semiotics, and the teaching and learning processes and semiotic concepts in general, and semiotic mapping in particular, can offer both students and teachers insights into students' development of insights and concepts, which development is at the very heart of teaching and learning practices (Tochon 2015). In the post-Nakba period Palestinian painters, sculptors, writers, iconographers, teachers and lecturers, including Ismail Shammout (1930–2006), Sliman Mansour, Nabil Anani, Vera Tamari, Tayseer

Barakat and Kamal Boullataa (2009), used symbols from Palestinian history, culture and traditional iconography as well as visual expressions and materials derived from the Palestinian environment, in protest against the ongoing occupation and settler-colonization of Palestine. Sliman Mansour, in particular, is one of the most influential contemporary Palestinian painters and iconographers; he gave impetus to visual literacy and liberationist iconography and visual expression to the Palestinian cultural concept of *sumud* under occupation and the more recent artistic *intifadas* and resistance movements against Israeli occupation.

Sliman Mansour has produced one of the most powerful iconographic images of the Arab world in the modern era: *Jamal Al-Mahamel* (Camel of Burdens), dated 1973, the image of an elderly Palestinian porter struggling to balance Jerusalem on his back, an image that has come to symbolize the Palestinian struggle for national liberation, with Jerusalem at its centre. Mansour was born in Birzeit in 1947 and educated at a Lutheran boarding school in Bethlehem; he served as the head of the League of Palestinian Artists from 1986 to 1990, and subsequently as director of the Al-Waihi Art Centre in Jerusalem. He was influenced by an earlier generation of Palestinian artists and iconographers and the Palestinian post-Nakba art movement, which was led by one of the most influential modern Palestinian artists and art historians, Ismail Shammout, who was born in Lydda, in Mandatory Palestine. In 1948 Shammout (aged seventeen) and his family were amongst 25,000 residents of Lydda expelled from their homes by the Israeli army. The Shammout family moved to the refugee camp of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip and in 1950 Shammout went to Cairo to study at the College of Fine Arts. Shammout later became Director of the Arts and National Culture department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and held the position of Secretary General of the Union of Palestinian Artists. Shammout's *Where to..?* (1953), an oil painting on canvas, depicting the expulsion from Lydda and the Death March of July 1948, has attained iconic status in Palestinian culture. Another famous work, Shammout's 1997 *The Madonna of Oranges*, was inspired both by the religious iconography of Palestinian churches and artistic icons of the Italian Renaissance. The painting transformed the pieta of the Madonna cradling the baby Jesus into a young Palestinian mother delicately draped in a white shroud, the symbol of purity. The Palestinian Madonna, lovingly carrying her sleeping baby, stands proudly in an orange grove, with lush trees, ripe with bright oranges, while in the background a man and young boy harvest the fruit. The painting signals Shammout's optimism for future return of the Palestinian refugees to Palestine through the abundance of oranges and his youthful characters (Barjeel Art Foundation n.d.).

Before he and his family were forced into exile in 1948, Shammout's first art teacher and inspiration was the great Jerusalemite artist Daoud Zalatimo (1906–2001) (Boullata 2009: 64–7).[10] Zalatimo himself was hugely influenced by the Jerusalem church iconographic painting tradition, figurative art and politically allegorical paintings. This mix of influences also involved several modern Christian and Muslim Arab painters in Palestine, some of whom began their careers as

iconographers, who also painted nonreligious themes. These modern painters included a group of Jerusalemite artists and iconographers: Jiryis Jawhariyyeh (1828–1914), Tawfiq Jawhariyyeh (1890–1944), Nicola Sayigh (1863–1942) and Daoud Zalatimo as well as Mubarak Saʾid (1876–1961), Khalil Halabi (1889–1964) and Zulfa al-Saʾdi (1910–1988). During the Mandatory period Zalatimo worked as an art teacher in Khan Younis and was later transferred to teach art at an elementary school in Lydda, Shammout's home town. Zalatimo's pre-1948 school paintings were acquired by and distributed to various schools in pre-1948 Palestine, and this circulation contributed to the subsequent emergence of a Palestinian nationalist iconography after the loss of Palestine in 1948. Shammout, who was taught and mentored by Zalatimo at the Lydda school, became the leading Palestinian artist in the post-Nakba period to use symbolism and images borrowed from the religious and cultural heritage of Palestine and succeeded in developing further and popularizing this art form far beyond the confines of the school environment in which Zalatimo worked (Bouttala 2009: 64–7).

4 LATIN LEARNING AND THE CRUSADER KINGDOMS OF PALESTINE: THE LIBRARY OF NAZARETH

The Latin crusaders invaded Palestine and occupied Jerusalem in 1099 and created the first crusader Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187). Also, in 1099 Tancred (1075–1112), an Italian Norman leader of the First Crusade, captured Galilee and established his capital in Nazareth, which together with Bethlehem and Jerusalem formed the three most holy cities for Christianity in Palestine. After 1099 the Greek churches, including the Church of the Annunciation and the Church of St Joseph, were handed over to the Latin crusaders. Tancred – later known as the Prince of Galilee – ruled from his capital in Nazareth in the Principality of Galilee, a vassal of the First Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Later, in 1115, Frankish Nazareth, still a small town, was created as a *seigneury* along European feudal lines within the Principality of Galilee. Until the recovery of the town by Salah al-Din (Saladin) after the collapse of the Frankish army at Hittin in July 1187, the 'Latin' churches and institutions of Nazareth became well endowed and were supported economically partly from the obligatory contributions of the local peasant population within its jurisdiction and partly from feudal landholdings in southern Italy.

There are several works on the Crusades through Arab eyes (Hillenbrand 1999; Maalouf 1984), but no Arab works on the Latin Library of Nazareth or the impact of Arab learning on the contents of this Latin scriptorium. Today the medieval Latin crusaders in the Holy Land are remembered in Palestine for their religious militancy, fanatical behaviour and barbaric atrocities; the arts, architecture, culture, libraries and manuscript illuminations created during the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem are unlikely to be remembered by either Palestinian Muslims or Palestinian Christians; today local Arab students in Nazareth (Muslim and Christian) are unlikely to be aware of, or taught about, the Latin Library of

Nazareth. By contrast, crusader studies flourish at Israeli universities, and crusader theme parks designed to appeal to Western tourists have been created by the Israeli authorities on the sites of Palestinian villages destroyed in 1948.

With some exceptions, many of the publications on the Latin crusaders in Palestine (and the coastal regions of Lebanon and Syria) have been written through Western eyes and with extensive reliance on Latin (not Arabic) sources.[1] However, the evidence produced in recent studies shows that the Latin learning produced by, and the arts of, the invading crusaders in Palestine combined multiple cultural practices, Islamic and Arabic traditions included. In particular, the arts and architecture produced for the crusaders in Palestine during the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the first century of quest to control and reshape the Holy Land, included manuscript illuminations, historical accounts and biographies, fresco paintings, mosaics, stone sculptures, metalwork, ivory carving, embroidery, coins and official seals. All this was produced by artists and architects trained not only in the Latin West and the Byzantine Empire but also in the Islamic East and Islamic Palestine (Folda 1995), with the contribution of subjected indigenous Orthodox Christian and Muslim Arab subjects.

The looting of Arabic and Islamic books, manuscripts and artefacts by the Latin crusaders was not uncommon; throughout the crusader rule of Palestine, encounters on the battlefield and extensive trade and cultural exchanges between Muslims and Frankish crusaders continued with free passage of ideas, goods and technologies. In particular, profitable trade in Arab-manufactured paper, which contributed to the economics of literacy, flourished during this period. Italian merchant Francesco Pegolotti, in his trading manual *Book of Descriptions of Countries and of Measures Employed in Business*, commonly known as *Pratica della Mercatura* (the *Practice of Commerce*), compiled for practical purposes between 1335 and 1343 when he was stationed in Cyprus, notes that paper was among the goods of Italian spice traders in the Levant. He also mentions the 'superior quality' Damascene paper (*Carte di Dommasco*) (Da Rold 2020: 64), which could be purchased in the coastal cities of Palestine during the rule of the crusaders in the thirteenth century (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29). Pegolotti, who also worked for Italian merchants in London in the immediate post-crusade period, may also have been instrumental in the importation of this fine-quality Syrian and Palestinian paper into England in the mid-fourteenth century.

In addition, some localized alliances were formed as well as some crusaders intermarrying and becoming assimilated with the indigenous populations. Also, some distinguished Muslim scholars travelled to Palestine during this period; for instance, Usama Ibn Munqidh – a prolific author, Sufi teacher and protégé of the Caliph in Baghdad – visited Palestine, Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities that were under crusader rule, in 1137 and 1140, as did the Muslim traveller Ali al-Harawi, who took up residency in Crusader Jerusalem for several weeks in 1173. In his *Kitab al-Iʾtibar* ('Book of Learning by Example' or 'Book of Contemplation', composed in 1183) – an original copy of which has survived and is currently held

in El Escorial library in Madrid – Ibn Munqidh provides lengthy descriptions of his interaction with the Latin crusaders on many occasions, both peacefully and in battle, including in one battle outside Asqalan in 1150; he also mentions that he had lost his entire private library (about 4,000 texts) when he was attacked and his books looted by the crusaders, who had initially offered him safe passage, in the Mediterranean sea while travelling between Syria and Egypt (see also Cobb 2005: 37–43). On another occasion, in 1192, King Richard the Lionheart himself requested an audience with al-Harawi to return to him his stolen books, writings and personal belongings and to recompense him after al-Harawi's convoy was stopped and robbed near the city of Gaza in Palestine by Richard's troops – although circumstances did not permit the two men to meet (Meri 2006: 313). All these looted Arabic books ended up in libraries across Europe.

Crucially, the crusaders in Palestine would have become intimately familiar with Arabesque patterns and other forms of artistic decoration and manuscript illuminations developed in the Islamic world from the ninth century onwards – patterns that were linked to Arabic and geometry. The crusader elites of Jerusalem would have become acquainted with the exquisiteness and complexity of the interior and exterior of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which was turned into a church and renamed *Templum Domini* by the Knights Templar, who had arrived in Jerusalem in 1119. The adjacent al-Aqsa Mosque became a royal palace where the Knights Templar set up their headquarters for about seventy years until the recovery of Jerusalem by Salah al-Din in 1187. The Dome of the Rock was featured on the official seals of the Knights Templar, who were inspired by the intricacy of its tiles and mosaics combined with light reflected through stained-glass windows and rings of Arabic calligraphy and arabesque patterns. Not surprisingly, the Dome of the Rock soon became the architectural model for round churches across Europe. One of these round churches was the Temple Church in the city of London, consecrated in 1185 by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem (*c.* 1128–1190/1191), who turned up in London with a huge retinue, in Byzantine-style opulent dress and bringing with him rich memorabilia from Palestine. Heraclius had arrived in Palestine from France before 1168 and had served as the Latin Archbishop of Caesarea-Palaestina and the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Also, later Arabesque decorative patterns became a mainstream European decorative art, especially from the Renaissance onwards.

The current archaeological knowledge about Palestine during the first Islamic period which preceded the Latin Crusades shows that for several centuries the country prospered and grew under its Muslim rulers. This should surprise no one, a similar situation in Andalus (Muslim Spain) being evidence for the great opulence and innovation of the Muslim regime. Indeed, when the European crusaders invaded Muslim-majority Palestine in 1099, they found there a cultural and technical level of development unknown in contemporary Europe. This cultural encounter of the Latin crusaders with Islamic Palestine and Syria would later ensure the transmission of Arab and architectural heritage to medieval

Europe; indeed, the architectural impact of Islam and the Middle East (and the import of Near Eastern glazed ceramics and the technology of glazed windows by Italian cities in the high Middle Ages) can still be detected in some of Europe's most recognizable monuments, from Notre-Dame in Paris to St Paul's Cathedral in London. This transmission of key innovations from the great cities of Islam's early empires was carried out by Latin crusaders, European pilgrims to the Holy Land and European merchants in the Levant (Darke 2020; Goody 2006: 219).

The Latin Crusades also inspired European literature, poetry and songs, most famously Walther von der Vogelweide's *Palästinalied* ('Palestine Song'). Von der Vogelweide (*c*. 1170–*c*. 1230) was a prominent German-speaking political poet and composer who wrote love songs and agitated politically in favour of the Latin Crusades. He was in Vienna in 1219 after the return of Duke Leopold VI from the Crusades and may have accompanied the crusading army at least as far as his native Tirol. This famous crusader song 'Palestine Song', written in 1224 or 1225, shortly after the Fifth Crusade (1217–21) and in preparation for a new crusade, has survived from the Münster Fragment (Konzett 2000: 977). The subject of the song is the Christian gospel told from the perspective of a crusader (pilgrim) setting foot in Palestine and asserting that, in view of the claim of the 'heathens' (Muslims) to Palestine, the crusader's (Christian) claim is the just one.

The Latin Crusades were launched by the Catholic Church, reaching the peak of its political power in the high Middle Ages, which called armies from across Europe to a series of Crusades against Islam. After the crusaders occupied Palestine in 1099, they founded the Frankish states in the Levant. Following the great East–West schism of 1054 between the Eastern Orthodox and Latin Churches and after the arrival of the first Latin crusaders in Palestine, the crusaders appointed a Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem. The hierarchical organizational structure of the Latin Church contrasted sharply with the structure in the East of a network of independent churches. The crusaders also dismissed the principles of autocephaly and the independence of the Palestine Orthodox Church. As a result, the Eastern Orthodox Patriarch chose to relocate to Constantinople, remaining in exile until 1187, and returning to Jerusalem only after its liberation by Salah al-Din. Furthermore, paradoxically in the Latin crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the early twelfth century the diocese of 'Caesarea in Palaestina' lost its religious and cultural autonomy and was subjected to the direct control of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was overseen by the European rulers and settlers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. However, the Latin Kings of Jerusalem sought to revive memories of Byzantine Palestine and the actual diocese system of the All Palestine Church was revived in Frankish Palestine. For instance, the 'Archbishop of Petra, in Palaestina' – which in the sixth century was the metropolis of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Tertia (Salutaris) – was established at some stage during the crusader era and served the diocese of Palaestina III, the Transjordan area, and traditionally included Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, although Crusader military protection rarely extended deep into Sinai. Despite the

dwindling number of Christians in the Petra region, appointing archbishops of Petra lingered into the twentieth century. The hierarchy of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem and high-minded elite Frankish crusaders in Palestine, who sought to create a European Latin-speaking colony in the Holy Land, could not prevent the transformation, within a generation or so, of the outlook of many ordinary Latin settlers in Palestine. Some Latin crusaders of the Church were deeply concerned that many ordinary European colonists practically went native in Palestine, adopting 'Oriental' styles and local customs. We have considerable evidence of Muslims living under Frankish rule in Galilee and the area of Nablus (Talmon-Heller 2002: 111–54). Fulcher of Chartres, a priest who participated in the First Crusade (of which he later wrote a chronicle), then served the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem and acted as chaplain to Baldwin, the Latin King of Jerusalem, until 1118, wrote in July 1124:

> For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilean, or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has been made a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens [Muslim Arabs] who have received the grace of baptism… One cultivates vines, the other the fields.… Different languages, now made common, become known to both races.
>
> (quoted in Heng 2015: 359; see also Folda 2001)

This rapid 'Orientalization' and 'indigenization' of many ordinary European crusaders should surprise no one; after all, the levels of social, cultural and technical development in Palestine and neighbouring countries at the time under Islam were superior to those in Europe. However, by the 1120s, Nazareth in Galilee, under the impact of educated Frankish settlers, had become a scholarly centre of some importance and was referred to as a 'famous religious community' in a papal document of 1145 (Riley-Smith 2005: 75). The city provided a living to some literary figures including Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth and Gerard of Nazareth, and its library, the catalogue of which survives, had similarities with European schools. Although Latin settlers in Palestine and the Levant still looked towards Europe for learning and culture, today Palestine and the Levant are considered to have been a channel for the transmission of Arabic learning to Europe (75). In the 1130s, a Frankish archdeacon, Rorgo Fretellus (or Fetellus) of Nazareth, who had moved to Palestine, wrote a guidebook that was used by pilgrims and scholars. He spoke of *Provincia Palaestina* in his descriptions of Latin Palestine: 'The city of Jerusalem is situated in the hill-country of Judea, in the province of Palestine' (Fetellus 1892). Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed to the 'survival in Latin Palestine of the Muslim administration' (1977), and in

all probability Fretellus of Nazareth was conflating scriptural geography with the actual Arab Islamic province of Filastin prior to the Latin Crusades. Overall, following the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the power and religious independence of the local Palestine Orthodox Church were reduced sharply and the two sees of Caesarea-Maritima and Jerusalem were transformed into a Frankish archdiocese, subordinate to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The crusaders also confiscated properties and seized key ecclesiastical positions traditionally held by the Greek Orthodox clergy in Palestine (Ellenblum 2003: 505). This policy undermined further the position of the Greek Orthodox clergy in the eyes of the predominantly Orthodox Arab Christians of Palestine. In the early thirteenth century, following the defeat of the Latin crusaders by the Ayyubids, the Palestinian Arab town of Qaysariah (Caesarea-Palaestina) was still being described by Arab geographers as a key town in Filastin (Le Strange 2014: 29). In the post-crusade period, however, Qaysariah and its formerly renowned and powerful metropolitan bishops and scholars never recovered their influential position after the destruction of the first Latin Kingdom by Salah al-Din in 1187 and the eventual elimination of the 200-year Frankish rule from Palestine by the Mamluks in the late thirteenth century. Although today the formerly powerful archiepiscopal see of Caesarea-Palaestina is largely symbolic, the social memory and spectacular history of Caesarea-Palaestina are remembered by the Palestinian Christians, and the Eastern Orthodox Metropolitan of Caesarea is represented by an Exarch of Palaestina Prima, under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The local Arab Muslim–Christian bonds in Jerusalem can be traced to early Islam. Following the elimination of the European Latin crusaders from the city, the indigenous Arab Muslim–Christian shared tradition of *convivencia* in Jerusalem was recultivated; symbolically, the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were entrusted to two aristocratic Palestinian Muslim families in the city, the Nuseibeh and Judeh al-Ghoudia. Created by Salah al-Din shortly before his death in 1193, this post-crusade ceremonial tradition added another widely respected layer of daily rituals to the multilayered ancient sacredness of the site. Today the ruins of crusader sites (churches, hostels and castles) are visible throughout historic Palestine and graffiti left by crusaders can still be seen in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The ancient cultures of the Near East recorded lists of books, manuscripts and texts using an extraordinary range of materials: official texts and private documents were recorded or archived on *clay tablets*, *wooden tablets*, *ostraca*, *papyrus*, *parchment* (often made from calf and sheep skin) and eventually *paper* under classical Islam in the Middle Ages. But libraries of the late Middle Ages began to keep records of their holdings. The evidence for the creation of considerable Latin crusader arts and manuscripts in Palestine, together with the establishment of cathedral libraries and archival collections and illuminated manuscripts, comes from such records of library holdings. The evidence from the collection of the

Library of Nazareth (linked to the Latin cathedral in the city) is impressive, one inventory of the codices of manuscripts and books at the end of the twelfth century indicating that

> This collection is notable as medium size and important, with strong holding in patristics and classical authors comparable to good cathedral libraries one might find in France and Italy at the time.
>
> (Folda 2005: 92)

In 1983 Benjamin Kedar published an important study on Gerard of Nazareth, a Carmelite hermit from Nazareth, a neglected twelfth-century Benedictine monk at Mount Tabor in Galilee and writer of the Latin East (Kedar 1983: 55–77), who later became bishop of Ladhiqiya in Syria. The surviving fragments of the *De conversatione servorum Dei*, a compilation of biographies of contemporary hermits and monks by Gerard of Nazareth, provide details about the types of monasteries being founded during the second and third generations of the Frankish conquest and about Latin learning in Palestine. Gerard's five known works include *De conversatione servorum Dei*, *Vita abbatis Eliae*, *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* and *Contra Salam presbyterum*. The latter was written against a Greek priest (called Sala) of Ladhiqiya, and defends Latin episcopal authority over Orthodox clergy.

Of course, the interests of the Library of Nazareth and church authors such as Gerard were never merely academic. However, Kedar argued that the existence of such a learning centre as the rich Library of Nazareth meant that Latin monks in Palestine did not have to study in Europe (Kedar 1983: 55–77; Folda 2005: 93):

> it is reasonable to assume that the affluent shrine church of Nazareth which owned land in Apulia[2]… before 1158, had possessed already in Gerard's day many of the books listed in this catalogue, and that other well-endowed churches in the country had comparable libraries at their disposal… Consequently, Gerard may well have found his sources in a library of the Latin East of the type documented by the Nazareth catalogue.
>
> (Kedar 1983: 55–77; Folda 2005: 93)

Commenting on the richness of the Library of Nazareth, Anthony Bale notes:

1. the chapter library at Nazareth included copies of the *Aeneid*, Boethius, and Ovid's *Art of Love* and *Remedies for Love*. So we can see that the intellectual and cultural life in Outremer ['overseas' crusader states] was in dialogue with that of western Europe, and that we should be alert to the crusaders' learning, their literacy, and the role of poetry and rhetoric alongside the material endeavours for which they are more famous.

   (Bale 2019: 90)

Other key cathedral chapters of the crusader states, including the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, had comparable libraries (*scriptoria*) (Folda 2005: 93). However, in 1191, after the recovery of Jerusalem and the elimination of the first crusader state by Salah al-Din, the Holy Sepulchre's chapter library and *scriptorium* were moved from Jerusalem to Acre. The second crusader Kingdom of Acre lasted until its elimination by the Mamluks in 1291. References to the crusader 'scriptorium of Acre', as a successor to the scriptoria of Jerusalem and the Library of Nazareth, maintained by Dominican scribes in Acre, have been made by several authors (Folda 2005: 302–5).

5 THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE ISLAMIC LAW COLLEGES OF JERUSALEM: THE PALESTINIAN MADRASAS UNDER THE AYYUBIDS AND MAMLUKS (1187–1517)

During the Mamluk period, especially from 1260 onwards, the most important social and economic urban centres of Palestine – Al-Quds, Gaza, Safad and Asqalan – experienced a mini 'golden age': a golden age of scholastic methods of education in advanced colleges centred on Islamic Jerusalem, the most important educational hub in the country, although the Mamluks also sponsored the establishment of Islamic educational institutions in Gaza (Mahamid 2007: 36–40) and other key urban centres of Palestine. Administratively, the Mamluks created two key large administrative provinces (or governorships) in Palestine: *mamlakat Safad* and *mamlakat Ghazza* (the provinces of Safad and Gaza). The governorship of Safad included Galilee and, in the south, Marj Ibn ʿAmer and the towns of Beisan and Jenin, while the governorship of Gaza reached, in the north, the town of Lajjun, and included Jerusalem, Nablus, Lydda, al-Ramla, al-Khalil and Qaqun (Ziadeh 1953: 13). However, religiously, educationally and politically, Al-Quds was central to Palestine and the Mamluk state. After the decisive victory at ʿAin Jalout by the Mamluks over the Mongols in Marj Ibn ʿAmer valley in Palestine in September 1260, Baybars made himself a Sultan, and Gaza, after a period of turmoil, regained its past prosperity.

> The city was soon replete with impressive buildings and Baybars built a new mosque dedicated to Caliph Umar in Gaza, on the site of the Latin [crusader] Cathedral, where the former [pre-crusade] mosque had stood, endowing

> it with a library of more than 20,000 books. The new mosque of Umar (the Umari mosque), together with the 'Pasha's Palace', the seat of the governor, or *wali*, remain to the present day the two principal buildings in Gaza. close to the area of Shujahiya [Shujaʾiyya[1]], where the local elite have lived since the Mamluk era.
>
> (Filiu 2014: 23)

Six years later, following the recovery of Safad from the crusaders in 1266, the Mamluks took steps to shift the provincial power in Galilee from the coastal town of Acre westwards and to turn the mountainous town of Safad into the capital of northern Palestine. The fortress town of Safad was renovated and expanded under the Mamluks and served as a regional capital in Palestine for the first time in its history (Luz 2014: 36). Crucially, Safad remained the capital of northern Palestine for several centuries. It all began in 1266 when Bilad al-Sham came under Mamluk rule and this vast region was divided into six large administrative provinces, each called a *mamlakat* (kingdom) or *niabat* (vice regency). These provinces were Damascus, Aleppo, Hamat, Tripoli (modern-day Lebanon), Safad (Palestine) and Karak (Transjordan). The head of each province (or *mamlakah*) bore the title of *naib* (viceroy, or 'little Sultan'). Encompassing much of northern Palestine and consisting of ten districts, the Mamlakat Safad ('Kingdom of Safad') included not only modern-day Galilee but also Marj Ibn ʿAmer, including the towns of al-Lajjun and Jenin – both of which were at the time considered part of lower Galilee – and other territories that today constitute the southern parts of modern-day Lebanon. When the Ottomans occupied Palestine in the early sixteenth century they retained many of the administrative characteristics of the previous Mamluk rule (as well as many of the social, economic, religious and legal institutions of the country). However, the Ottomans changed the name of the administrative province of Safad from *mamlakat* Safad to sanjak (or *pashalik*) of Safad (Arabic: *liwa* Safad). Although Galilee remained a 'frontier province' throughout much of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, after 1266 the new administrative status of Safad brought about urban expansion in the city and the establishment of new buildings, baths, mosques, markets and caravanserais (Drory 2004). The new building programme in the city included the Red Mosque, one of the oldest Mamluk buildings in Palestine still standing today. The building of the mosque in 1276 was attributed to the Sultan Baybars, who ruled the region from 1260 to 1278, and who apparently embarked on a bridge-building programme across Palestine designed to revive its highways and improve its transport system, according to inscriptions above the wooden door at the entrance to the mosque. One of the best-known Palestinian judges among the magistrates of Mamluk Palestine was Shams al-Din Muhammad al-ʿUthmani (d.1378), author of the detailed local history *Tarikh Safad*, written in 1378, which has survived in only partial form (Drory 2004: 184). *Tarikh Safad* gives us important information on the villages of Galilee under the Mamluks and a unique glimpse into the inner workings of the religious institutions and lodges

for Sufi teachers in the region. Travelling Sufi teachers, in particular, transported practical wisdom and learning methods between and across the urban centres of Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Iraq, from Safad to Al-Quds and Gaza, and from Baghdad to Cairo and Damascus and beyond.

From Greek and Syriac Texts to Arabic Sciences under Islam

Stand for the teacher and honour his rank…
…for a teacher is almost as a prophet
Do you know of someone nobler than…
…he who nurtures minds and hearts.

—Ahmad Shawqi (1868–1932; Egyptian poet; also known as the 'Prince of Poets')

Whoever Has Taught Me One Letter Has Made Me His Slave.

—A famous traditional saying in Arabic summarized the importance of the teacher.

In Palestine, until recent decades, the noblest of professions and teachers (ideally) dedicated to the care for and schooling of youth were held in high esteem – a career in teaching was seen as prestigious and even glamorous. Generally, in Arab-Islamic history, professors, teachers and tutors were highly valued and were given many designations: *muʿallim*, *mudarris*, *murabbi*, *munshi'a*, *ustath*, *muaddib*, *murshid* and *mutawa*. The headteachers of the Islamic medieval colleges of Jerusalem and the Azhar college (later 'University') of Cairo were given the honorific title *shaykh*. Arab poets idealized teachers and men of learning and compared them to divine messengers. The Islamic tradition and civilization gave a central role to knowledge (*maʾarifa*) and science (*ʿilm*) (Rosenthal 2007: 2).

The cultural and linguistic transformation of the Near East from Byzantine Hellenism to Islam has been studied by many authors (Bowersock 2007: 85–96; Cotton et al. 2009). In ancient Greece and early modern Europe, headteachers of schools and academies were called *scholarchs*, a term that combined *school* and *arche* (*ἀρχή*), 'ruler' or 'leader': knowledge and power. For Muslim scholars, as for ancient Greek and early Christian *scholarchs*, academic knowledge and epistemic discovery equalled power and Greek, Syriac and Muslim scholars constructed a hierarchical (tree-like) conception of academic knowledge from the cognitive (*idrak*) to epistemological and empirically proven science (*ʿilm*). Although the pedagogical platform of the Greek academy favoured epistemic discovery over dogmatic instruction, Arabic scholarship and literate scholasticism inherited many of its epistemic, scientific and philosophically contemplative traditions from ancient Greece and Arabic teaching and learning as well as its scientific empiricism from the classical academic traditions of learning and experimentation.

Summarizing the scientific achievements of Islam and Arabic empirical sciences, Mehdi Nakosteen and Joseph Szyliowicz write:

> The contribution of these institutions to the advancement of knowledge was vast. Muslim scholars calculated the angle of the ecliptic; measured the size of the Earth; calculated the precession of the equinoxes; explained, in the field of optics and physics, such phenomena as refraction of light, gravity, capillary attraction, and twilight; and developed observatories for the empirical study of heavenly bodies. They made advances in the uses of drugs, herbs, and foods for medication; established hospitals with a system of interns and externs; discovered causes of certain diseases and developed correct diagnosis of them; proposed new concepts of hygiene; made use of anesthetics in surgery with newly innovated surgical tools; and introduced the science of dissection in anatomy. They furthered the scientific breeding of horses and cattle; found new ways of grafting to produce new types of flowers and fruits; introduced new concepts of irrigation, fertilization, and soil cultivation; and improved upon the science of navigation. In the area of chemistry, Muslim scholarship led to the discovery of such substances as potash, alcohol, nitrate of silver, nitric acid, sulfuric acid, and mercury chloride. It also developed to a high degree of perfection the arts of textiles, ceramics, and metallurgy.
>
> (Nakosteen and Szyliowicz 1997: 16–17)

Today every single Arab pupil is familiar with the term *daftar* – notebook or exercise book – but not many Arab pupils know that this medieval Arabic term comes from the ancient Greek *diphtheria*, a term derived from the Hellenistic scribal culture. In addition, a whole host of Arabic terms (including *philosophia/falsafa*; *tekhne/tiqani*: *hegemonía/haymana*; *demokratía/dimoqratiyya*; *drachma/dirham*; *keration/qirat*; *ṭarkun* [tarragon]/*drakóntion*; *iquna/eikṓn*; *kharta, qirṭas/khártēs*; *satil* [bucket]/*sítla*; *furn* [oven]/*phoûrnos*; *karz* [cherries]/*kerasos*; *baytar* [veterinarian], originally from ancient Greek *hippiatrós*, via Aramaic; *iblis* [devil], from the ancient Greek διάβολος [*diábolos*] 'slanderer', via Aramaic; *fanar* [lighthouse]; *phanárion*: Φανάριον) are of Greek and Byzantine Greek origins. These are often adapted into Arabic from Byzantine Greek, Eastern Christianity or via Aramaic. On the other hand, *funduq*, the Arabic for hotel, originally from Greek *pandocheion* (*πανδοκιον*), for inn or public house, seems to have entered Arabic during the Ottoman period through Venetian overseas trading posts known as *fondacos* (*funduqs*), which were also known in Palestine as *khans* or *wakalas*. *Pandocheion* is also the Greek word used for a paid establishment (or an inn) in the story of the Good Samaritan in the New Testament (Luke 10:34).

Renowned Muslim philosopher, mathematician, musician and polymath al-Farabi (*c*. AD 870–951), who was credited with preserving in his Arabic commentaries and books the original Greek texts during the Middle Ages, was

known in Arab history and philosophy as the 'Second Teacher', after Aristotle, 'the First Teacher' in the same Arabic learning traditions (Druart 2020). Al-Farabi,[2] the author of *The Opinions of the People of the Virtuous City*, also known as *The Perfect State* (1985), modelled on Plato's *Republic*, like renowned Greek philosophers and the great Arab scholar Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), thought that advanced levels of education and civilization (*madaniyya*) in general centre on the city, ethical education and the rise of urban civilizations.

Under classical Islam in the Middle Ages, religion and the state (government administration) were closely associated. Teaching and learning became closely associated with *madrasas*, state bureaucracies, courts, clerks and notaries, mosques, churches and monasteries, clergy and monks, synagogues and rabbis, and various state institutions. Also, public and private libraries were owned by *sultans*, *wazirs*, *amirs* (military commanders), *qadis* (judges), *muftis*, local administrators, wealthy merchants and their wives and sisters, schools, mosques, churches and monasteries.

The classical heritage of Islamic Hellenism and of the ancient world became centre stage in the Arabic world, especially during the Islamic Abbasid period (eighth to the twelfth century). Baghdad became the centre of a translation movement of natural sciences and philosophical literature not only from Greek into Arabic but also from Persian, Hindu and Syriac (a native Middle Eastern language closely related to Arabic) into Arabic, leading to a humanistic education and cultural renaissance and spectacular intellectual activities in the Arabic world. During this period, when paper documents and books replaced parchments, private and public Arabic-language libraries in Baghdad, the most famous of which was Bayt al-Hikma (the House of Wisdom) – a library, institute of humanities and a translation centre established in 813 – reached an age of cultural renaissance. Following on from this period, private and state-sponsored law colleges began to emerge as fairly autonomous public education institutions in Jerusalem, while many basic elementary schools in previously neglected rural Palestine were closely associated with the elementary *katatib* (basic mosque) school system, which was also common in pre-modern rural Palestine. The literary culture of Ayyubid and Mamluk Palestine was Arabic. During the Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman periods, mosque and college libraries (sing. *Khizanat al-Kutub*) and major collections of manuscripts were not uncommon in Palestine. Furthermore, some 'compounds of learning' and key fiqh colleges, such as the Tankiziyya Madrasa in Jerusalem, developed into advanced legal education institutions in Mamluk Palestine (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 77–106; Mahamid 2009b: 188–212). Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Haram al-Sharif compound in Al-Quds, which during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (1187–1517) developed into an important academy for religious and secular studies, included large libraries and collections of books in its neighbouring medieval colleges, including the Ashrafiyya, Nasiriyya, Farisiyya and Nahawiyya (Galli 2001: 113).

The Influx of Islamic Scholars and Pilgrims to Jerusalem

Islamic Jerusalem began to attract a large number of scholars and intellectuals from across the Islamic world, especially from the Abbasid period onwards, some for brief pilgrimage visits, others for long stays or to give lectures. Shortly before the arrival of the Latin crusaders in Jerusalem, Abu Bakr Ibn **al-ʿArabi** (1076–1148), an Andalusian Muslim scholar and a famous Sevillian *qadi* (judge) who visited Jerusalem with his father and stayed in the city between 1092 and 1095, subsequent to his visit produced a travelogue (*rihla*) describing Islamic Jerusalem as a thriving centre of learning and religious devotion for Muslims, Christians and Jews; he also speaks of a Shafiʿi *madrasa* (school) near Bab al-Asbat and describes the Muslim intellectual life in the city as well as his encounters with scholars in Asqalan and Acre (Asbridge 2012; Gil 1997: 423–4; Lev 2006: 592). Also, during the 1090s Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (1059–1126), a prominent Andalusian Muslim political philosopher and the author of *Kitab Siraj al-Mulk* (*The Lamp of Kings*), one of the most important works of political theory produced in the medieval Islamic world, lived and gave lectures in the city (Gil 1997: 424). We have already seen in Chapter 3 that the nearby Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba – which thrived in combination with and in proximity to the city of Jerusalem – had been transformed into an international centre of learning and translation (from Greek and Syriac into Arabic) and a leading centre of Arabic *fusha* literacy and Palestinian Christian Arabic *belles-lettres* under Abbasid and Fatimid Islam (eighth to the eleventh century).

The holy city of Jerusalem under Islam attracted many of the influential scholars, pilgrims and travellers of the Islamic world, transforming Al-Quds into one of the great intellectual and learning cities of Islam; the local Palestinian intellectual elites mingled with the great scholars of Islam such as Ibn Khaldun, al-Farabi and al-Ghazali. The famous medieval Islamic literature in Arabic extolling the virtues of Jerusalem is known as the 'Merits of Jerusalem' literature (*Fadaʾil al-Quds*). But not many people know that Palestinian Muslim author Walid bin Hammad al-Ramli (d.912), of the town al-Ramla, in the mid-ninth century wrote the first work in Arabic specifically about the 'virtues of Jerusalem', which portrays accurately how early Muslims viewed this holy city (al-Ramli 2019). The writings of the leading Palestinian and Islamic scholars and jurists are indications of the centrality of the city under Islam. When al-Ghazali visited Jerusalem in the 1090s he complained that 'only 360 tutors' were available at the Aqsa Mosque (Al-Juʾbeh and Natsheh 2010: 49). Also, under Islam, the religious centrality of Jerusalem – and the geopolitical location of Palestine – attracted an influx of Muslim, Christian and Jewish pilgrims to the city and a great deal of revenue was generated through pilgrimages and the hospitality sector. This pilgrimage and hospitality industry required the construction of new hostels to accommodate pilgrims and

travellers, and new social and educational institutions began to emerge in the city. Islamic policies towards Jerusalem enabled the city to benefit from a long Islamic tradition of prominent Arab and Muslim scholars, travellers and pilgrims visiting Jerusalem and Palestine (as well as Mecca and Damascus). Some of these intellectuals were directly involved in the Muslim campaigns to recover Palestine and Jerusalem from the Latin crusaders, while others held teaching positions in the post-crusade period and presented their works in the city; others subsequently produced travelogues about their journeys, or described Palestine and its cities in their autobiographies. These included: Ibn Karram, an ascetic, theologian and the founder of the Karramiyya sect, who lived in Jerusalem for twenty years from 850 to 870 (Gil 1997: 301); al-Firyabi, a scholar and teacher of Hadith, whose family moved from Iraq to Palestine and who died in Jerusalem in 881; al-Farabi (*c.* 872–*c.* 951) (Klein 2014: 79); al-Turtushi in the 1090s; al-Ghazali in 1096; Usama Ibn Munqidh in 1137 and 1140; al-Harawi in 1173; Ibn al-Salah, a Hadith scholar (after 1187); ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani (1125–1201), a Muslim historian scholar and Arabic rhetorician, who studied at the famous Nizamiyya college in Baghdad and served in senior legal and educational positions in the Ayyubid state, including as a professor of a college in Damascus; Ibn Jubayr – an Andalusian Arab traveller and geographer, who visited the northern parts of Palestine in 1185, two years before Salah al-Din recovered Jerusalem from the crusaders; Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi – the great Arab Andalusian Sufi teacher, poet and philosopher – in 1205 and returning to Jerusalem again the following year; al-Yunini – a prominent Hadith scholar and historian – in 1261; Ibn Battuta – a great traveller and geographer – in 1335; and Ibn Khaldun – the great Arab historian, diplomat and headteacher of the Qamhiyya college in Cairo – who at the age of seventy with international fame visited Damascus in spring 1400 (and carried out some research into Arabic manuscripts in its schools and libraries) and made a detour on his way back to visit Jerusalem, Bethlehem, al-Khalil (Hebron: May 1400) and Gaza and provided a short account of his visit to Jerusalem in his autobiography (Ibn Khaldun 1952: 56).

These autobiographies and travelogues reveal many details: for example, Imad al-Din al-Isfahani was present at the Battle of Hittin and at the subsequent campaign led by Salah al-Din to expel the crusaders from Palestine, including the Muslim recovery of Jerusalem in 1187; he subsequently wrote *Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem* (*al-Fath al-Qussi fi-l-Fath al-Quds*), a chronicle covering his involvement in the Muslim campaign in Palestine from 1187 to 1193. By the time Ibn Khaldun produced his autobiography (Ibn Khaldun 1952: 56), he was concentrating more on his educational and research activities, and in addition to visiting the holy places in Jerusalem and the great mosques in the city, which also had great libraries, Ibn Khaldun may have also looked for Arabic manuscripts in these Palestinian cities.

Other distinguished Muslim scholars stayed in the city and taught in its rising law (fiqh) colleges during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Visiting Mamluk

Palestine in 1335, Ibn Batutta noted that local officials checked travel documents at a string of way stations between Egypt, Palestine and Syria and levied taxes on merchants; even in tiny way stations, local literate bureaucracy operated with a full panoply of 'officers, clerks and notaries' whose revenue was 'a thousand gold dinars' (Hunt 2002: 123).

Legal Education and the Rise of the Law Colleges of Islamic Jerusalem

Until the rise of modern schools and mass literacy in Palestine, the study of law and jurisprudence (fiqh) – the queen of Arabic sciences – was the centrepiece of advanced Islamic education in medieval Palestine, an education largely available to sections of the urban population and small numbers of people from rural Palestine. The rise and spread of humanistic education and the Arabic law colleges, or fiqh madrasas, in the Islamic Middle East from the eleventh century onwards were phenomenal (Lev 2009: 1–26; Makdisi 1981, 1990). If the Islamic law colleges of the Middle Ages became the centrepiece of advanced critical Arabic and Islamic sciences and scholarly innovation (Makdisi 1981: 9; 1990), for nearly three centuries under the Mamluks the advanced Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem became the hub of sophisticated higher learning in Palestine. This phenomenal rise of the Islamic sciences and Arabic colleges in Jerusalem – which echoed the spectacular rise of highly sophisticated Hellenistic higher education in Caesarea-Palaestina and Gaza 1,000 years earlier in late antiquity – led to the institutionalization and academization of Palestinian higher education, especially in Jerusalem in the twelfth to the fifteenth century, under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, and within transnational Arabic education. The extraordinary rise of education in the Islamic colleges of Jerusalem was one of the most exciting and dynamic periods in the development of medieval Islam. Both the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers used patronage and financial resources to attract some of the best scholars to the Arabic madrasas and judicial systems of Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus, and the 'transnational' dimensions of the colleges of law and higher learning in Jerusalem, with the movement of scholars, students, new ideas and skills across countries, are much in evidence. Although there is some evidence that Islamic madrasas existed in Jerusalem before the Latin Crusades, they spread during the Ayyubid period and reached their spectacular height during the Mamluk period. Following the first major defeat of the crusaders at the hands of Salah al-Din (Saladin) (r. AD 1169–93), the elimination by the Ayyubids of the first Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the recovery of Jerusalem in 1187, Ayyubid Palestine (AD 1187–1260) ushered in a new era of dynamic intellectual and educational activity as well as economic prosperity in Palestine and all the countries they ruled. Islamic madrasas (colleges, seminaries) had existed in Jerusalem since the early Islamic period (Gil 1997). However, the earliest madrasas in Jerusalem after the Frankish period were

built by the Ayyubids (Galor and Bloedhorn 2013: 216). The colleges of law in Jerusalem, established under the patronage of the Ayyubids and Mamluks, led to a resurgence in educational, commercial, architectural and artistic activity not only in Jerusalem but also in the other urban centres of Palestine (Hillenbrand and Auld 2009). A substantial number of *ribats* (hostels for Muslim pilgrims, traders, travelling scholars and retreats for Sufi teachers) were built during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Galor and Bloedhorn 2013: 213). The crusader period had mainly affected the urban centres of Palestine; it was 'merely an episode in the life of much of the [rural] hinterland which quickly returned to normal conditions with the end of Christian domination' and the advent of the Ayyubids (Rosen-Ayalon 1998: 514). The period was also marked by an Ayyubid process of reinforcing Sunni Muslim domination under their rule by setting up numerous madrasas, Sufi lodges (*zawiyas*), *ribats*, public baths, markets and caravanserais (khans) in the main cities, especially in Jerusalem. Over time, nearly a quarter of all institutions and commercial properties in Jerusalem belonged to Islamic *waqf* bequests, and Ottoman deed records show this situation was still evident in the late Ottoman period (Şafak 2017).[3] The surviving monuments in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine bear witness to the dynamism and prosperity of the Ayyubid period in Palestine.

In urban Palestine and Bilad al-Sham (greater Syria) the Islamic colleges of law played an important role in the Muslim resistance to the brutal European Latin invasion of the country and Frankish crusaders. Although Islamic madrasas at their highest levels were not confined to religion alone (Goody 2004: 48), under both the Ayyubids (1187–1260) and the Mamluks (1260–1517) the colleges of law became major centres of schools and of Islamic jurisprudence. The functionaries in Islamic jurisprudence were: *qadis* (judges), *ʿulama* (scholars), *muftis* and *fuqaha* (jurists). An important part of the *ʿulama* class, the *fuqaha* developed into a professional class as experts in the intricacies of the Islamic law (Nawas 2002: 491–9). The Islamic legal education used the Arabic term *fiqh*, which is derived from *faqaha*, 'understanding and discernment', and the Arabic fiqh college, which became the key institution of legal learning under Islam, was, in large measure, focused on 'the study of Islamic law, queen of the Islamic sciences' (Makdisi 1981: 9; 1990). The academization, institutionalization and standardization of madrasas began during the latter part of the 'first golden age' of Islam in the late tenth century in the eastern Islamic world, and by the middle of the thirteenth century the colleges of law had become the most important educational institutions in Palestine and the most significant religious institutions after the mosque, both in Palestine and in the eastern Islamic world.

In classical Islam in the Middle Ages the rise of literacy, numeracy and schools was also linked to technological developments, papermaking and the growth of both trade and the judicial culture of Islam. Advanced literacy and numeracy, Arabic (grammar and poetry) and (Islamic) law and jurisprudence were central to the curricula of the Islamic madrasas of classical medieval Islam.

Already legal (fiqh) pluralism was much in evidence in Ayyubid and Mamluk Palestine. Even conservative Palestinian scholar Ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi (1147–1223) – born in the Palestinian town of Jammaʾin, southwest of Nablus, who fought in Salah al-Din's army during the battle to recapture Jerusalem from the Latin crusaders in 1187 – who authored many important treatises on Islamic jurisprudence, including some of the standard works of Hanbali law, was a proponent of the classical Sunni position of the 'differences between the scholars being a mercy' (Ibn Qudamah 2007). Legal education combined with a cultural renaissance, Islamic legal pluralism and the diverse cultural and intellectual activity in Jerusalem became central to the diverse Islamic law colleges of the city – educational institutions in which Islamic jurisprudence was taught according to one or more Sunni schools of law: Shafiʿi and Hanafi (two important law schools [*madhhabs*] in Palestine), Maliki or Hanbali, all of which represented the inherent pluralism of Islamic jurisprudence. This legal pluralism and the diversity of the schools of law and legal studies in Jerusalem reflected both the diverse character of the population in the city and the policy of the Mamluks inaugurated by Sultan Baybars to institutionalize the four schools of fiqh in the judicial system of the Mamluk state (Auld, Hillenbrand and Natsheh 2000: 156; Little 1989: 192).

The law colleges of Jerusalem were often bequeathed by Muslim rulers and wealthy people such as *sultans*, *wazirs* (prime ministers), *amirs* (military commanders), *qadis* (judges), *muftis*, merchants and their wives, daughters or sisters (Leiser 2006: 457). The *waqf* charitable foundations were one of the most important public institutions in Islamic history, and throughout the Middle Ages wealthy Muslim women also bequeathed charitable foundations (*waqfs*) for the maintenance of madrasas, mosques, hospitals, poor kitchens and other institutions assigned to help the poor in Jerusalem (Natsheh 2016: 242–70) – a social tradition that has lasted for centuries and into modern Palestine.[4] Furthermore, leading Jerusalemite Muslim women often inherited the important administrative responsibilities of individual *waqf* (Qleibo 2015).

Education, Islamic *waqf*, economics and politics were closely linked in Mamluk Jerusalem (Mahamid 2006: 33–58). Major Palestinian *waqf* institutions in Jerusalem (the law colleges included) and al-Khalil (Hebron) often received *waqf* revenues outside Palestine as well as *waqf* revenues from Palestinian lands that were dedicated to endowed charitable foundations in Egypt and the Hijaz (Pascual 2003: 80). It was the vast revenues and assets of the charitable institutions and their system of public education – including endowed urban shops, caravanserais, public baths, orchards and mills – attached to this vast endowment system of public colleges in Jerusalem, which subsidized a large number of Islamic higher educational colleges in Jerusalem and enabled these colleges to flourish and provide higher learning for hundreds of years (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 77–106). The urban Islamic colleges of advanced education were officially supported by generous charitable foundations, or charitable *waqf* trusts, that provided revenues for the construction and maintenance of the buildings, salaries of the instructors

and staff and scholarships for students (Hawari 2007: 27). Often the founding deed of bequests would specify the internal conditions of the teachers' lessons, the subjects and material taught in the college and salaries paid to staff (Leiser 2006: 457; Mahamid 2011: 141–51). In addition to classrooms, many madrasas often included a mosque, *khan* (inn) lodgings for teachers and students; schooling and academic progression took several years. Even though the curriculum was structured and Islamic law and Arabic were the major subjects taught, other 'Islamic sciences' were frequently taught and travelling Sufi teachers provided practical lessons on site (Leiser 2006: 457).

As we have already seen, legal education and the law schools of Byzantine Palestine (Caesarea-Palaestina), Lebanon (Berytos) and Egypt (Alexandria) were structured in 'well-defined stages' (Evans 2005: 22; Cribiore 2007: 47), and students followed a four-year structured course in law and training to become professional lawyers (Evans 2005: 22). The legal education of the colleges of Jerusalem was also structured and students followed well-defined stages. Palestinian scholar Hatim Mahamid, who extensively studied the organization, teaching methods and curricula of the Mamluk colleges of Palestine, Egypt and Syria, showed how the students, not unlike ancient Greek and modern students, gradually progressed through clearly defined pedagogical stages – and echoing ancient Greek bottom-up (tree-like) growth and conception of knowledge – moving up from a lower elementary (*kuttab*) level to the most sophisticated highest level: *completed/finished* (*muntahun*). At the end of the process and upon completion of legal studies, the college students would be awarded a graduation diploma (*ijaza*), a certificate indicating what texts had been studied and with whom (Esposito 2004: 73, s.v. 'Education'). The generally standardized curricula and learning methods of the Islamic colleges of Jerusalem aimed at achieving the following academic skills: listening (*sama'*), reading (*qira'a*), dictating (*imla'*), analysing and comparing (m*uqabala*), memorization, speech and reading out loud, orally and publicly (*istihdar/hifz ghiyban*), and investigative research (*bahth/tahqiq*), argumentation and discussion (*munaqasha*) (Mahamid 2009b: 188–212; 2009a; 2011: 141–51; 2012: 231–38). Interestingly, the Arabic term *'ijaza'* for graduation certificates was still being used not only by Islamic schools in Jerusalem in the early twentieth century but also by Palestinian secular teacher training colleges, such as Jaffa seminary, during the British Mandatory period (1918–48).

Scholasticism and Practical Vocational Training

Unlike the modern misconception that the methods of teaching by the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem were largely based on uncritical memorization of texts and traditions, in fact logical reasoning and critical education were central to their diverse curricula. The Islamic law colleges emerged within the general context of

the rise of the rational Arab sciences of classical Islam: rhetoric (Arabic: *balagha*), the art of public speaking, and rational Arabic traditions of Aristotelian learning; Aristotle's logical works were among the main platforms of the Arabic sciences of classical Islam in the Middle Ages. The ninth-century Arabic philosopher al-Kindi had already used Aristotle, in Arabic translations, as a basis for his own philosophical works. A century later, al-Farabi rediscovered a 'purer' version of Aristotle's works and these discoveries culminated in the intellectual works and educational philosophies of Ibn Sina (980–1037) and Ibn Rushd (1126–98), who became the greatest Muslim commentators on Aristotle's works in the Middle Ages. In the eleventh century, Ibn Sina wrote a guide for teachers working in Arabic schools about 'The Role of the Teacher in the Training and Bringing Up of Children'. In *A History of the Arab Peoples,* Albert Hourani writes:

> In mosques and madrasas, *fiqh* and its ancillary sciences were the main objects of study, but outside them other kinds of thought were carried on. One which was of lasting importance was the thought of the philosophers, those who believed that human reason, working according to the rule of operation laid down by Aristotle's logic could lead to the attainment of a truth which could be demonstrated.
>
> This line of thought, of which the forerunners in the Islamic world had been al-Kindi and al-Farabi, reached its culmination in the work of Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), whose influence on the whole of later Islamic culture was to be profound. In a brief fragment of autobiography he described his education, that which by now had become tradition, in the Quran and the sciences of the Arabic language, in jurisprudence [fiqh], and the rational sciences, [Aristotelian] logic, mathematics and [Greek] metaphysics: when I had reached the age of eighteen, I was finished with all these sciences… today my knowledge is more mature. Otherwise it is the same, nothing has come to me since.
>
> (Hourani 2013)

The contents of the curricula of the advanced colleges of Jerusalem varied from one endowed college to another and were influenced by the requirements specified in the endowment documents. However, a key feature of the curriculum of some of the best and advanced Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem was what became known as the rational scholastic tradition of disputations and logical reasoning. As we have already seen above, scholastic disputations as a method of critical teaching and learning had already been used in the law schools of Caesarea-Palaestina, Alexandria and Berytos (Beirut) during the Byzantine era. In these law schools, students (and would-be *scholastikos*) learned a variety of methods as well as the critical Greek scholastic method of disputations with its strong emphasis on a critical dialectical reasoning and Aristotle's logic of rational reasoning to resolve differences and eliminate contradictions. Arabic grammar, logic and rhetoric, the art of public debate and persuasion, were often core subjects in the

curricula of the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem. Also, the rational disputative methods developed by the Islamic fiqh colleges required years of preparation and progress through a highly structured curriculum with clearly defined stages. In addition, practical training by students in the disputative method as well as final examinations of works submitted by students was required. Students of the Islamic colleges of Jerusalem were taught according to one or several Sunni schools of law: Shafiʿi, Maliki, Hanafi or Hanbali, all of which represented the heterodoxy of Islamic law. Given the need of the Islamic method of fiqh to achieve consensus (*ijmaʾa*), eliminate contradictions and resolve disagreements in law, exercises in dialectical reasoning often took the form of explicit disputation: a topic drawn from the Islamic traditions of law would be brought up in the form of a question, the opponents would then respond, a counter-proposal would be argued and then the opponents would provide a rebuttal. In view of the requirements of the dialectical method of reasoning and the Islamic Sunni ethos of consensus (*ijmaʾa*), students were taught logic and rhetoric as core subjects in order to be able to reason, debate and persuade rationally and reconcile differences of opinions through intellectual debates in the classroom and in writing (Makdisi 1981). Like the great Byzantine law schools of late antiquity, the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem emphasized professionalism and strove to give their students not only a theoretical legal grounding, but also vocational and practical training and skills required by the literate state bureaucracy and Islamic courts.

This practical literate scholastic tradition of Islamic education is found in the career of Palestinian scholar Mujir al-Din al-ʾUlaymi (1456–1522), the headmaster of the top Salahiyya college in Jerusalem and the epitome of the Palestinian *judge-scholar-historian.* The career of Mujir al-Din also demonstrates how the roles of *scholar-author-jurist and judge* and *head of madrasa* were not mutually exclusive. Mujir al-Din could lead a teaching circle at al-Salahiyya College, conduct a ruling session on a point of Islamic law, adjudicate court cases in the city and devote time to writing historical essays. Mujir al-Din mentions that nine Islamic law colleges were built in Jerusalem before AD 1300, a relatively small number due partly to the long period during which the city was in the hands of the Latin crusaders. However, during the long Mamluk period (1260–1517) for the first time in the history of education in Palestine, wealthy Muslim women residing in Jerusalem, in particular, took a keen interest in endowing schools and other charitable institutions in Palestine. Also, during the same period, many Mamluk *amirs* (military commanders), merchants, wealthy individuals and administrative officers who had settled in Jerusalem contributed to the phenomenal expansion of education in the city, which at the time was the religious and administrative capital of Palestine. In medieval Islamic philosophy, truth, beauty, geometry and education were closely related and many of the buildings of Islamic schools in Al-Quds, especially those from the Mamluk period, were geometrically elaborate, architecturally opulent and aesthetically exquisite. The next section lists the extraordinary number of (pre-modern) law colleges and educational

compounds founded in Al-Quds during the Ayyubid and (mostly) Mamluk periods (1187–1517) (Luz 2014: 233: 234; Reiter, Eordegian and Abu Khallaf 2000: 156), some of the buildings of which have survived until today and are among the historic Islamic gems in the city.

Many of these boarding colleges attracted students from across Palestine and beyond and some of their graduates became important Islamic jurists. The list of colleges below demonstrates not only the importance of the holy city of Jerusalem under medieval Islam but also the centrality of schooling in pre-modern (urban) Islamic Palestine, as well as the fact that, contrary to some claims (Ayalon 2004: 1), pre-modern Palestinian society was not completely 'illiterate'.

Islamic Charity and the Moral Economy of Education: Jerusalem's 'Market of Knowledge' and the Rise of the Endowed Medieval Colleges

The Qadi-Scholar/Head of College System

Philanthropy and giving to charity in the form of *zakat*, *sadaqa* and the establishment of charitable institutions for the poor and needy were fundamental pillars of the moral economy and public education of medieval Islam. Crucially, there were always strong connections between the medieval Islamic colleges of law and advanced education in Jerusalem and the practical requirements of the judicial system and Sharia Courts in Palestine and the region as a whole. In fact, headteachers of the most important higher education system of madrasas of Jerusalem were often judges and heads of the Sharia Court in the city; also, their professional educational and judicial careers often depended on state patronage.

The view that Islamic law and legal education in medieval Islam suffered from rigid structure and uniformity should be challenged. Also, the evidence suggests that, with the rise of legal education in Mamluk Jerusalem, the *judge/scholar* and head of the top law college in the city also became a central figure in the civil administration of not only Jerusalem but also al-Khalil (Hebron). Furthermore, the evidence shows that in classical Islam the *qadis*/scholar/head of law college of the diverse schools of jurisprudence, through case-by-case decisions, laid important foundations for the diverse developments and pluralistic practices of the Islamic law in Palestine. Also, the Islamic scholarly (academic) turban and gown (or special robes), as a distinctive form of clothing for teachers in an academic setting as well as for judges in a court setting, was a distinctive feature of the *head of madrasa-judge system* – a system that linked the Islamic madrasas of Jerusalem and court systems of Palestine – during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

In Islamic Jerusalem the gowned *scholar/judge* (*qadi*) system of scholarly distinction, honour and legal power was an important institution that was consolidated during the Mamluk period and continued into the early Ottoman period. During the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods (which lasted until the anti-Ottoman Palestinian popular uprising of 1703–5), the primary religious leader in Jerusalem was the city's *qadi*/scholar – who served both as chief *qadi* (judge) and as headteacher for the leading law college in the city – while in the late Ottoman period the *mufti* became a pre-eminent religious leader in the city. During the early British Mandatory period the British military authorities in Jerusalem followed suit and upgraded the Ottoman tradition by creating in 1918 the post of *Grand Mufti* of Jerusalem. After 1993 the Palestinian Authority followed the same tradition of appointing a (national) Grand Mufti for Jerusalem and Palestine – a tradition that was adapted from the 'Grand Mufti of Egypt' (*Mufti al-Diyar al-Misriyya*), a position which was first occupied by a Palestinian Hanafi scholar who studied at the Azhar college of Cairo: Ahmad al-Tamimi (1801–52) of Khalil (Hebron), in 1835 (Cole 1999: 36–7).

Also, practical skills required for the judicial system, effective governance and Islamic law and order (under Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman rule) and Quranic instructions to seek knowledge were among the multiple contexts within which the bequeathed Islamic medieval colleges of Jerusalem operated. *Qadis* (judges) and *ʿulama* (scholars), appointed directly by the Mamluk Sultan or his provincial governor, were often in charge of key law madrasas and their teaching activities and curricula (Mahamid 2012: 231–3). Highly trained in the law college of Jerusalem, the *qadis* of the Sharia Court in Jerusalem, for instance, were expected to keep an accurate *Sijill* (record), a register that contained the decisions of the court; a *qadi* who failed to keep a record of his court would be dismissed. Palestinian self-recording the keeping of the records of the Islamic Sharia Court (*Sijill al-Mahkamah al-Shariʾyyah*) became a well-established regular judicial procedure throughout the Mamluk and Ottoman periods in Jerusalem. Moreover, the law colleges of Jerusalem, then the administrative, religious and intellectual capital of Palestine, were designed to ensure high standards of education and training in Islamic law, jurisprudence, Arabic and arithmetic (Arabic: *hisab*). The men graduating from these colleges were expected to seek jobs such as local and district administrators (*mutasallims*), teachers and scholars (*ʿulama*), Sharia Court clerks and keepers of the court register (*sajjals* and *daftaris*), jurists (*faqihs*), judges (*qadis*), *muftis* (jurists qualified to give authoritative legal opinions known as *fatwas* [rulings] to be read and used, sometimes in courts, by all sorts of literate people), merchants, *khatibs*, *imams*, *muhtasibs* (inspectors and regulators of trade, markets and tax collectors), *mutawalis* (those in charge of charitable *awqaf*) and various senior state posts, including the superintendents and governors (*nazir*s) of the endowed law colleges in Jerusalem, heads of land registration departments and state land grant holders, and police officers. The powerful position occupied by the superintendents (*nazir*s) of the law colleges of Mamluk Jerusalem is attested by the

fact that some of the *nazirs* of top colleges such as al-Salahiyya and al-Tankiziyya served also as 'Superintendents of the Two Harams' (*Nazir al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn lil-Quds wal-Khalil*) in Jerusalem and Hebron (al-Khalil).

Doctrinally, legally and ethically, charity (*sadaqa* and *zaka*), justice, (*ʿadl*), fairness (*insaf*), equity (*qist*), balance (*mizan*) and human dignity of all people are fundamental themes in the Quran and Islamic fiqh. The attributes of the divine in the Quran include *Al-ʿAdil* (The Just One) and *Al-Muqsit* (The Upholder of Equity):

> We have already sent our apostles with clear evidence and sent down with them the Book and the balance [of right and wrong], that the people may maintain [their affairs] in justice.
>
> (Quran, Surah al-Hadid, 57:25)

The combination of faith, reason (logic and legal knowledge) and ethics was central to the moral economy of the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem. The maxim *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf waal-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (commanding right and forbidding wrong) evolved into a doctrine that became deeply ingrained into Islamic thought and ethics. Al-Ghazali (1058–1111), one of the greatest medieval philosophers and jurists of Islam, equated this doctrine and its implementation with the institution of *ḥisbah* (Lev 2009: 19). The markets and bazaars of urban Palestine are still known as the *hisbas*. The important positions of *muḥtasibs* (market supervisors and regulators) and heads of law colleges in Jerusalem were held in the Mamluk period by jurists (Lev 2009: 19; Mahamid 2012: 232–33). Like the traditional Muslim prohibitions on usury, the inspection and regulation of the markets by the *muhtasibs* (Arabic, literally 'Arithmeticians' or 'Calculators') of the pre-capitalist 'moral economy' – to borrow a concept by English historian E. P. Thompson (1971: 76–136) – of Palestine, which were influenced by sharia principles of fairness, the greater good, social justice, mutual obligation, public services, the concept of the just price and the determination to regulate the quality and prices of commodities traded in the bazaars of Palestine against unscrupulous merchants and traders, were aimed at providing a public service based on moral and charitable ethical principles and the greater good. Public utilities such as mosques, schools, libraries, hospitals, cemeteries, drinking fountains and other public services could be the beneficiaries of a *waqf*. This great Islamic tradition of charitable foundations under Islamic law ensured the success, prosperity and longevity of many of these schools, some of which continued to function for several centuries.

The unprecedented rise of Palestinian public education under the Mamluks and the flourishing of endowed schools and colleges in Al-Quds for nearly 500 years during the Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman periods (1187–1600s) can be seen from the long list of Islamic colleges established during these periods. Endowed schools were also established in other Palestinian cities. The records of the Nablus Sharia Court from the seventeenth century contain

information concerning 25 active charitable *waqf* institutions, including the ʿImadiyya school and the Fakhriyya school (Pascual 2003: 81). During the Ayyubid period the number and diversity of Islamic schools in the south-western area of the Haram resulted in the region becoming known locally as the 'Market of Knowledge' (*Suq al-Maiʾrifa*) (Jarrar 1998: 70–100). Most of the endowed colleges and schools in Al-Quds were established during the Mamluk period, and Hijih and al-Tel put the number of the Mamluk endowed madrasas at about 50, attracting a large number of teachers and students (including boarding students) not only from Palestine but the whole region, and employing a vast number of supporting staff including teaching assistants, readers, cooks, heads of hygiene and cleaners, porters, *awqaf* administrators (*mutawallis*), and revenue collectors for the urban properties and rural lands attached to these endowed schools (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 78–9). From the long list of Ayyubid and Mamluk educational compounds and colleges in Jerusalem, 20 bordered or were in the proximity of the Islamic Haram compound. A detailed architectural description of many of the schools, colleges and other charitable institutions established during the Mamluk period is found in Ali Qleibo's *Mamluk Architectural Landmarks in Jerusalem* (2019). Most of these schools and colleges (and their edifices) were the result of individual patronage and constructed as charitable foundations.

1. *Al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya*: a Shafiʿi fiqh school founded by, or during the reign of, Sultan Salah al-Din in AD 1188–92.
2. *Al-Madrasa al-Khatuniyya*: a famous Ayyubid/Mamluk college founded in 1191 and named after ʿIsmat al-Din Khatun, widow of Nur al-Din and wife of Sultan Salah al-Din.
3. *Al-Madrasa al-Badriyya*: an Ayyubid Shafiʿi school located near the Damascus Gate, bequeathed by *amir* Badr al-Din Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Qasim al-Hakari; its inscription dates to 1213–14; its founder al-Hakari was killed fighting the Latin crusaders at a battle near Mount Tabor in 1217.
4. *Al-Madrasa al-Nasriyya*: an Ayyubid school built above the Golden Gate around 1214 – also named after Salah al-Din, whose official title was 'al-Malik al-Nasir' (the 'Victorious Sultan'); Ibn Salah al-Shahrazuri (d.1245), an influential commentator on al-Ghazali's legal work, taught at this school (Griffel 2009: 46).
5. *Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya*: Ayyubid college; founded by *amir* al-Malik al-Muʿzzam ʿIsa in 1207.
6. *Al-Madrasa al-Muʾadhamiyya*: built by al-Malik Muʿzzam ʿIssa in 1217 by the son of Ayyubid Sultan al-ʿAdil and nephew of Salah al-Din.
7. *Al-Madrasa al-Dawadariyya*: a foundation inscription located above the front door identifies *al-Madrasa al-Dawadariyya* and dates the completion of its building to 10 November 1295. Its Mamluk founder was *amir* ʿAlam al-Din Sanjar al-Dawadari (b.1230).

8. *Al-Madrasa al-Jawuliyya*: an important madrasa, built between 1315 and 1320, by *amir* Sanjar, superintendent of the Haram in Al-Quds and governor of Gaza. He was a scholar in the law of the Shafiʿi fiqh school. Its headteacher served as the city's judge; the school was used during the period as the seat of the Ottoman governor in 1870**.**
9. *Al-Madrasa al-Aminiyya/zawiya*: endowed by *wazir* Amin al-Din ʿAbdullah in 1329–30; an important madrasa whose headteacher was appointed directly by the governor of Damascus (Mahamid 2012: 232–3).
10. *Al-Madrasa al-Tankiziyya*: endowed by Mamluk *amir* Sayf al-Din Abu Said Tankiz in 1328–29.
11. *Al-Madrasa al-Malikiyya*: a Shafiʿi college built in 1344 by Mamluk al-Malik al-Jukandar and named after his wife, Malak bint al-Seifi Qaltaqtum al-Nasiri; built in 741. She endowed it as a *waqf* in 1344, and was buried in the college upon her death.
12. *Al-Madrasa al-Farisiyya*: founded by endowment by *amir* Farisi al-Baki ibn Amir Kutlu ibn Malik ʿAbdullah in 1352–53.
13. *Al-Madrasa al-Tashtamuriyya*: bequeathed by Tashtamur al-ʿAla al-Sayfi al-Malik in 1357.
14. *Al-Madrasa al-Salamiyya*: endowed by Siraj al-Din Umar ibn Abu Qasim al-Salami in 1360.
15. *Al-Madrasa al-Taziyya*: endowed by *amir* Safy al-Din Taz in 1361.
16. *Al-Madrasa al-Arghuniyya*: endowed and built by *amir* Arghun al-Kamili in 1358 (it now houses the tombs of the founder and Sharif Hussein ibn Ali, the Sharif of Mecca and leader of the Arab Revolt during the First World War).
17. *Al-Madrasa al-Asʾardiyya*: endowed by Majd al-Din Abdelghani ibn Abu Bakr Yusuf al-Asʾardi in 1368.
18. *Al-Madrasa al-Manjakiyya*: endowed by *amir* Seif al-Din Manjak in 1361; the building was renovated in 1923 and again in 1957 as the Islamic Administration offices of the Waqf (Endowment).
19. *Al-Madrasa al-Luʾluʾiyya*: endowed by *amir* Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ Ghazi in 1373.
20. *Al-Madrasa al-Hanbaliyya*: endowed by *amir* Sayf al-Din Baydamur al-Khawarizmi in 1375.
21. *Al-Madrasa al-Kamiliyya*: bequeathed by Kamil from Tripoli before 1413.
22. *Al-Madrasa al-Basitiyya*: endowed by Zayn al-Din ʿAbd al-Basit in the 1430s.
23. *Al-Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya*: the large school endowment in 1432 was attributed to Misr Khatun, wife of Nasri al-Din Muhammad ibn Dilghar.
24. *Al-Madrasa al-Hasaniyya*: bequeathed by *amir* Husam al-Din Abu Muhammad al-Hasan in 1433.

25. *Al-Madrasa al-Jawhariyya*: founded by *Imam* Jawhar al-Qunqubay; the *madrasa* and *khanqah* (a house for Sufi teachers, or *ribat*) were completed in 1440; located to the north of Bab al-Hadith.
26. *Al-Madrasa al-ʿUthmaniyya*: endowed by a wealthy woman of Asia Minor origins, Isfahan Shah Khatum, in 1440–41.
27. *Al-Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya*: founded by Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qaytbay in 1480–82 and seen as one of the most opulent schools in Jerusalem from an architectural and artistic viewpoint.
28. *Al-Madrasa al-Muzhiriyya*: this Hanafi madrasa was commissioned by *Qadi* Abu Bakr ibn Muzhir, the superintendent of the chancery in the reign of Sultan Qaytbay in Cairo; dated to 1481 by Jerusalemite historian Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi; a beautiful Mamluk *mihrab* has survived in the inner court of the madrasa (Dumper 2002: 92).
29. *Al-Madrasa al-Mawardiyya*: has no foundation inscription to identify or date the structure, and its founder is unknown.
30. *Al-Madrasa Karimiyya*: founded during the Mamluk rule of Jerusalem; bordered from the south by the al-Haram compound and from the west by the Tariq Bab Hitta.
31. *Amjadiyya Madrasa* (Hanafi madrarsa): located at one of the gates of the Haram.
32. *Al-Khanqah al-Karramiyya*: primarily an ascetic Sufi house/madrasa rather than law madrasa; founded by the followers of the Karramiyya movement, who provided ascetic Sufi practices in Sunni Islam, it was named after its founder Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad ibn Karram, an Arabized Persian from Sijistan, who had died in exile in Jerusalem in 869, leaving a thriving Karrami community centred on his tomb in the city (Madelung 1988: 39–45).
33. *Al-Madrasa al-Muhdathiyya*: founded in 1361; named after al-Muhadith ʿIzzedine al-Ardabili, located in the western corner of the minaret of the Gate of Gannama. Like other Mamluk madrasas, this madrasa consisted of two floors; each floor consisted of five rooms, and in the basement there was a mosque.
34. *Al-Madrasa al-Sabibiyya*: established by the deputy of the al-Salibiyya castle at Banias, Prince Ala al-Din ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad, in 1398. During the British Mandate the premises became a kindergarten school.

Al-Khanqah al-Karramiyya: The Debate on the Concept of the Sufi *Khanqah*/*Madrasa* in Jerusalem

Evidently, Islamic Sufi lodges (with many travelling Sufi teachers) proliferated in Jerusalem and all Sufi lodges and circles provided some form of informal

(and less structured) Islamic teachings. Although the evidence points to the introduction of the Islamic scholastic colleges in Jerusalem to the post-crusade period, beginning with the Salahiyya college (founded AD 1188–92), the combined Sufi *khanqah*/*madrasa* concept existed in the city before the Latin crusaders. The strongest evidence for this is provided by tenth-century Palestinian geographer and historian al-Maqdisi and his work *Ahsan al-Taqasim Fi Maʾrifat al-Aqalim* (The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions) (al-Maqdisi 1994, 2002). Al-Maqdisi associates the *khanqah* exclusively with the Karramiyya followers in the city (Madelung 1988: 45), but he was a geographer not an ethnographer: he provided a detailed eyewitness account that depicted the urban landscape, architecture and physical structures and economic conditions in Palestine, not details about the social, cultural and educational life of the Karramiyya followers in Jerusalem. However, it also seems that the Madrasa Karramiyya remained primarily an ascetic *khanqah*/*madrasa* rather than developing into an advanced legal college, described below. This *khanqah* for Sufi teachers was founded in Jerusalem in the ninth century by the followers of the Karramiyya movement, which was one of the ascetic tendencies in Sunni Islam – named after its founder Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad ibn Karram (Madelung 1988: 39–45). It is possible that many members of this Jerusalem community were native Christian converts to Islam who had previously been socially disadvantaged; interestingly, in the mountains of Lebanon some 4,000 Sufi followers of the Karramiyya (many of them new converts to Islam) preached publicly but lived in ascetic communities in what were described as Sufi monasteries (*sawamʿi*), which also became major learning centres (39–45) – a way of life which echoed the Christian monasteries of Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine (described in Chapter 3). With no clear institutional distinction between *khanqah* and *madrasa* – which we see in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods – these Karramiyya Sufi *khanqah* were also supported with *waqf* endowments and backed by a larger community of followers (45–6). Although the Karramiyya began to disintegrate as a regional movement in the thirteenth century, Sufism continued to develop as a mass movement in Palestine and beyond, and a Karramiyya *khanqah*/*madrasa* functioned in Mamluk Jerusalem.

Furthermore, as we shall see below, the involvement of many local and travelling Sufis in the top madrasas of Jerusalem give us an indication about the blending of 'town and gown' in the great urban cities of Islam. The life of the academic world during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in particular blended thoroughly into that of the social urban world around it, and the educational institutions provided a focal point for extra-academic activities, including communal prayer and worship, and various charitable deeds, which involved many members of the community beyond those directly engaged in teaching and learning and academic life (Berkey 2014: 189).

The Salahiyya College and the Nasriyya College: Ibn Shaddad, Ibn al-Salah, Ibn al-Haʿim, Kamal al-Din Ibn Abi Sharif and Mujir al-Din

For centuries under the Ayyubids and Mamluks the great Salahiyya college was the most prestigious college in the city (Ephrat 2006: 4–18). It was one of the two Ayyubid madrasas in Jerusalem devoted to the memory of Salah al-Din following his historic victory over the crusaders at the Battle of Hittin in 1187. Like the great Byzantine Greek-language academies of Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina, the endowed Tankiziyya College of Mamluk Jerusalem (below) and the modern Jerusalemite Government Arab College of Mandatory Palestine (below), the Salahiyya college was a state-sponsored higher educational institution in Palestine, and in the fifteenth century, during the late Mamluk period, the Salahiyya college was considered the most prestigious college in Jerusalem and Palestine as a whole. Often the naming strategy of educational and social institutions in Islamic Palestine (and the wider Near East) followed the name, or were devoted to the memory, of their founders: al-Salahiyya College: Salah al-Din; al-Tankiziyya College: Sayf al-Din Abu Said Tankiz; al-Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre: Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar (see Chapter 7). In the case of Salah al-Din there was apparently another school in Jerusalem devoted to his memory, as well as the still existing Khanqah al-Salahiyya, the former Latin crusader Patriarchate, located close to the Holy Sepulchre. Inevitably, the degree of educational autonomy enjoyed by each higher educational institution in ancient, medieval and modern Palestine varied in their historical contexts from one college to another.

Of high-quality public education, considerable endowed economic resources and top of the long list of charitable endowed Islamic colleges of law in Palestine (listed above), al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya was a Shafiʿi college founded by, or during the reign of, Sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin) in AD 1188–92 (Ahmad 2015; Butzer 1995: 19; Frenkel 1992: 64–85; Jarrar 1998: 86), shortly after Saladin (Salah al-Din) recovered the city from the Latin crusaders. The college was located to the north of the Muslim Haram shrines and built several metres to the west of the Bab al-Asbat (later the Ottoman Lion's Gate) on the site of a Latin crusader church, Saint Anne's, that Salah al-Din had converted into a madrasa right after the recovery of Jerusalem in 1187. The recovery of Jerusalem from the crusaders attracted Muslims from all over the Muslim world who were now coming on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in vast numbers. In 1189, two years after its recovery, Salah al-Din travelled from Safad to Jerusalem on pilgrimage and for the explicit purpose of celebrating the great feast of the sacrifice there (Elad 1995: 62). Like the vast *waqf* assets of the Tankiziyya College (below) the endowed assets (land and property) of the Salahiyya college included eighty-nine shops in the city of Jerusalem (Ahmad 2015). In the post-crusade period the position of Al-Quds as

both the administrative and religious capital of Palestine was reinforced by both the Ayyubids and the Mamluks (1187–1517), and according to Islamic sources, Saladin appointed his close associate Ibn Shaddad, a twelfth-century Muslim jurist and scholar, as the first director and Shaykh ('Professor') of the Salahiyya college (Ahmad 2015: 18; Jarrar 1998: 86) as well as the supervisor of the construction of the Salahi hospital (*Bi-maristan al-Salahi*) in the city (Jarrar 1998: 86). An experienced scholar, Ibn Shaddad had already taught in the Nizamiyya college of Baghdad as *mu'id* (teaching assistant) and in Mosul colleges as *mudarris* (professor) (Ibn Shaddad 2002: 2–4). A historian and biographer of great distinction and a close friend of Saladin, Ibn Shaddad became notable for writing a biography of Saladin (*The Life of Saladin*) (Ibn Shaddad [1228] 1897, 2002: 2–4). Ibn Shaddad had also served with Saladin in several administrative and judicial capacities and as *Qadi al-Askar* (judge of the army), was an eyewitness at the Siege of Acre and the Battle of Arsuf in Palestine, and wrote a chronicle of the Third Crusade (Gabrieli 1984: xxix). Above all, the rational scholastic traditions of the Nizamiyya college of Baghdad, known for its high-quality education and among the first well-organized Islamic higher institutions of learning, provided a model for later Islamic colleges, including those of Jerusalem.

Antecedents to the Salahiyya College: Al-Ghazali in Jerusalem

The great Salahiyya college employed a large number of staff, including fully affiliated and unaffiliated scholars; some scholars were natives of Jerusalem, but many others came from key urban centres in Palestine and the wider Middle East. Among the best-known and elite jurists and scholars and prolific authors who taught at the Salahiyya college during the Ayyubid period were Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrazuri (1181–1245) and during the Mamluk period Kamal al-Din Ibn Abi Sharif, a native of Jerusalem, one of the most renowned professors of the college (Bosworth et al 1980: 333). Ibn al-Salah was an influential commentator on al-Ghazali's legal work (Griffel 2009: 46), a distinguished scholar of Quranic exegesis and jurisprudence, and *Shaykh* (Professor) of the Shafi'i scholars during the early Ayyubid period. Like Ibn Shaddad, Ibn al-Salah was educated in Baghdad and other major urban centres of Islamic learning. Ibn al-Salah became best known for his *Muqaddima* (*An introduction to the science of Hadith*), composed while serving as the head of the Dar al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyya in Damascus, then one of the most influential institutions for the study of Hadith in the Islamic world (Ibn Salah 1990).

Al-Ghazali, one of the most influential Muslim scholars, jurists, theologians and Sufis of classical Islam, had embodied the same synthesizing tradition of faith, reason and science – a rich tradition that became central to the rational traditions of Islamic sciences which flourished at the Salahiyya college – a classical tradition of Islamic sciences that is also deeply rooted in the philosophy of the Quran. Al-Ghazali himself had visited and stayed in Jerusalem in 1096, a century before the

founding of the Salahiyya college in Jerusalem and three years before the capture of the city by the Latin crusaders. The holy city had been a key destination for Muslim pilgrims, travellers, mystics and scholars; in 1093, a contemporary of al-Ghazali, Seville-educated prominent Andalusian scholar and philosopher Ibn ʿArabi (1165–1240), visited Jerusalem with his father on his way to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage in the company of his father (Hiyari 1989: 130). Al-Ghazali himself had been appointed in 1091 as professor of law at the Nizamiyya college of Baghdad. Al-Ghazali emphasized the centrality of the human experience and performance over theoretical institutional education. In his autobiography, al-Ghazali describes his intellectual crisis, which forced him to resign his distinguished academic post as professor of law at the Nizamiyya college and spend years of wandering and seeking, with the aim of enriching his intellectual life and achieving direct spiritual knowledge of God in the form of the illuminative experience of the Sufi teachers and their students (Al-Ghazali 1999). Al-Ghazali's famous critique of some of the legalistic and materialistic teachings of the Arabic traditions of philosophy (*falsafa*) is often misrepresented; his brilliant approach to the combination of faith, reason (logic) and direct knowledge through experience and his famous complex critique in *The Incoherence of the Philosophers* (*Tahafut al-Falasifa*) advanced both literary scholasticism in the high Middle Ages in Europe and the nominalist critique of Aristotelian sciences developed subsequently in fourteenth-century Europe, but, more importantly, his endorsement of Aristotelian logic and demonstration (Greek: *apodeixis*) and 'knowledge through experience' contributed hugely to the flowering of the Arabic traditions of Aristotelian logic and metaphysics under classical Islam (Griffel 2020) and in the Arabic scholastic colleges of the Middle Ages. Al-Ghazali also wrote, according to Palestinian historian Mujir al-Din, several tracts while staying in Al-Quds (Bayt al-Maqdis, Jerusalem), including *The Jerusalem Epistle on the Principles of the Creed* (*al-Risala al-Qudsiyya fi Qawaʾid al-Aqaʾid*), a detailed exposition of the four pillars of Islam (Al-Ghazali 2016), which was intended not for intellectuals but for ordinary people. It is also likely that he wrote his spiritual tract *The Ascensions of Al-Quds in the Steps to Knowledge of the Soul* (*Maʿarij al-Quds fi Madarij Maʿarifat al-Nafs*) in Jerusalem (Griffel 2009: 45).

It is not entirely clear why Ibn al-Salah decided to leave Jerusalem for Damascus; according to some accounts, this followed the demolition of the walls of Al-Quds – with the exception of the walls surrounding the Haram compound – by the Ayyubids as a drastic defensive measure designed to prevent another destructive siege of the city by the crusaders, although a 'city without walls' was something very unusual for a medieval city. However, before leaving for Damascus, Ibn al-Salah also taught at another Ayyubid *madrasa* in Jerusalem, devoted to the memory of Salah al-Din: *al-Madrasa al-Nasriyya*. Built above the Golden Gate of the Haram in 1214, the college was also named after Salah al-Din, whose official title was 'al-Malik al-Nasir' (the 'Victorious Sultan') (Griffel 2009: 46), after his victory over the crusaders at Hittin in 1187.

The Salahiyya college thrived for centuries throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, outlasting the Nasriyya college in the city. Its headteacher or

Shaykh (Professor) – a title equivalent to the *scholarch* of the Greek-language academies of Byzantine Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina – was directly appointed by the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo and usually held the position of *Shaykh al-Islam* and served as the city's chief judge (Mahamid 2012: 232–3). The senior position of the headteacher of the Salahiyya college gave him special status, and the position was considered to be one of the three most important in Jerusalem: the city judge, the governor and the superintendent of the *waqf* properties for both Jerusalem and Hebron (*Nazir al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn lil-Quds wal-Khalil*) (232–3).

While literacy and numeracy were inseparable in the advanced system of public education under classical Islam and while logic and fiqh studies were central to the advanced colleges of Jerusalem, the teaching of mathematics was also central to the rational (logical) techniques of the scholastic colleges of Jerusalem, the Salahiyya college included. Evidently, secular and scientific subjects such as arithmetic and algebra were also taught at the Salahiyya college. Moreover, one of the leading professors of mathematical studies at the Salahiyya college was mathematician Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Haʾim (born in Cairo: c. 1356–1412). The work of Ibn al-Haʾim, 'the Jerusalemite', represented the pinnacle of the Arabic sciences of arithmetic and algebra in the fourteenth century (al-Mahdi 2005). Ibn al-Haʾim was a Hanbali scholar, prolific author and one of the greatest scholars of mathematics in the Middle Ages. Mujir al-Din gives the names of twenty major Hanbali scholars who lived in Jerusalem between 1187 and 1469, and relates that, in 1372, the chief judge of Damascus, the Hanbali scholar ʿAla al-Din al-ʿAsqalani (of the city of Asqalan), allocated funds for a group of Hanbalite students and scholars in Jerusalem from the *waqf* of a deceased Shams al-Din ibn Muʿammar, stipulating that they attend the 'regular study sessions at al-Masjid al-Aqsa al-Sharif' (Jarrar 1998: 85). Ibn al-Haʾim's texts written for students on mathematical sciences, including those of al-Salahiyya College, the manuscripts of which date from the eighteenth century, are now located at the Mansuri Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (Ibn Al-Hā'Im 1412). Ibn al-Haʾim was the

> author of 10 or more texts dealing with arithmetic, algebra and inheritance problems. He was a Professor in the *madrasa* Salahiyya, founded by Salah al-Din in Jerusalem in 1188.
>
> (Butzer 1995: 19)

Arithmetic (*hisab*), mathematics and algebra (as well as Aristotelian logic) were widely taught as additional subjects at the law colleges of Jerusalem, the Salahiyya college included (Ahmad 2015: 90–1), and the *muhtasib* system in Islamic Palestine was part of the pre-capitalist 'moral economy' influenced by sharia principles of social justice and the public good and widely promoted in the Near East. During the early Mamluk period the *muhtasibs* were the most influential single magistrates in urban Palestine (Ziadeh 1953: 122); they were powerful state agents and senior magistrates appointed by the Mamluk Sultan whose duties included the regulation of prices and the supervision and inspection of bazaars and trade

in Palestine, Egypt and al-Sham. Their duties, which varied from one period to another, included ensuring that public business was conducted in accordance with the ethical requirements of the sharia (Islamic law). The extensive powers of the *muhtasibs* included the appointments of heads of trades (*arifs*) in urban Palestine and the trades that middle-class people practised: rice and wheat merchants, water carriers, butchers, fish-friars, makers of sweetmeats, sausage-makers, weavers, potters, needle-makers, henna-sellers, workers in oil presses, sieve-makers, tanners, felt-makers, reed-mat makers and sellers of timber (124). Recurrent epidemics were a regular phenomenon in the urban centres of the Middle Ages and one of the earliest and best-known Palestinian hygienists — and physician, pharmacist and botanist — under classical Islam Muhammad bin Aḥmad al-Tamimi al-Maqdisi (born in Jerusalem, died in Cairo in 990 or 1000) wrote a well-known text: 'Survival Substance for Removing Air Pollution and Prevention from the Suffering of Epidemics' (written 980). This is perhaps the first book written in Arabic about ecological pollution and how to deal with water pollution. In addition, hygienic conditions and the continuous supply of clean water, for public baths and public drinking fountains in the cities, were major achievements of Islamic civil engineering in Palestine throughout the Muslim world. Relying on written official manuals, the *muhtasibs* supervised the regulation of hygienic conditions in the public baths (Ziadeh 1953:123) and bazaars, weights and measures, money, prices of produce and manufactured goods, safety of public places and food sold publicly. They also ensured that craftsmen and builders adhered to the specification set for their craft and construction standards (Broadbridge 1999; Hill 1984; Ibn al-Ukhuwah 1976).

The mathematical and arithmetic texts of Ibn al-Haʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances, were taught at the Salahiyya college. The main objective of Ibn al-Haʾim's manuscript text on arithmetic *Nuzhat al-ḥisab* was tutorial and aimed at students; the first part of the text focuses on the mathematics of whole numbers, their names and shapes, and on calculations. Ibn al-Haʾim begins the text with introductory notes about the different types of numbers, their names and shapes, and presents the basic processes – addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and root extraction – which are explained in detail and through a number of practical examples. The second part of the text deals with fractions and their properties and explains how to perform the five basic operations in the case of fractions. The transcriber decorated the manuscript with addresses for different sections, and used red ink to write important shapes, calculations and vocabulary in the text (Ibn al-Ha'im *c.* 1356–1412).

Ibn al-Haʾim died in Jerusalem and was buried in the historic Muslim Mamilla cemetery (Al-ʿArif 1961: 506, 508; in Bosworth et al. 1980: 333, s.v. 'Al-Quds'), a millennium-old cemetery and *waqf* property of supreme heritage value, located to the west of the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, which contains the remains of major figures from the early Islamic period, several Sufi shrines and tombs of prominent figures from the Mamluk period (Khalidi 2009: 104–9). Many of the grave markers and tombs of the cemeteries have been destroyed by the Israeli

authorities since 1948 to construct buildings, roads, other public facilities, a park and, more recently a 'Museum of Tolerance' on the cemetery grounds.

In the fifteenth century one of the most prominent teachers at the college was Palestinian Shafiʿi fiqh scholar and author Abu al-ʿAbbas al-Ramli, of the city of al-Ramla, also known as Ibn Arslan (d. *c*. 1440), who for a long period of time moved frequently between his home town of al-Ramla and Jerusalem. Apparently, his scholarly fame in Islamic sciences and Sufi asceticism attracted visitors and audiences from all over Bilad al-Sham and Egypt to his sessions. Ibn Arslan later relinquished his teaching position as *mudarris* at Salahiyya college and devoted himself to Sufi contemplation and used to spend time every year by the sea of Jaffa for contemplation (Ephrat 2006: 4–18).

Also in the fifteenth century the Salahiyya college counted among its well-known students (and later scholars) Mujir al-Din, the Palestinian jurist and historian, known for his comprehensive work *The Glorious History of al-Quds and al-Khalil* (*al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wal-Khalil*, *c*. 1495), which deals in its second part with the history of Islamic colleges in Jerusalem. Today the Church of Saint Anne is located on the site of this important medieval college, but just before the entrance to the church one remaining Arabic inscription indicates that the building was formerly the Madrasa al-Salahiyya, with an emphasis on Shafiʿi jurisprudence; the panel, 144 centimetres long and 55 centimetres wide, which contains a foundational Arabic inscription written in the beautiful Ayyubid *naskhi* script and composed of five lines, reads:

> In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, And who amongst you are blessed but by God. This Blessed Madrasa was endowed by our master, the ruler, the victorious, the salvation of the world and religion, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Abi Mudhaffar Yusuf bin Ayyub bin Shadi, reviver of the state of the commander of the faithful, May God strengthen his victory and all those who gather with him, between the good of this world and the next, among those legists who follow Imam Abi Abd Allah Muhammad bin Idris al-Shafiʿi, may God be pleased with him in the year 588 [AD 1192].
>
> (al-Natsheh 2021b)

A Model for Higher Education and Urban Regeneration in Al-Quds: The Tankiziyya College

Urban Regeneration, Economics and Architecture

The social, cultural and intellectual histories of Islamic Palestine are often read through in overall Caliphate chronologies, with little consideration for local urban developments and regional conditions. Obscuring the indigenous 'autonomous'

cultural history of the country, historical approaches to Palestine are often constructed through the chronologies of empires, imperial conquest or dynastic chronologies (Roman, Ottoman, British and so forth), and 'from without'. There is very little appetite among historians, often dependent on funding from powerful elites, to record the voice of Palestine 'from within', independent of biblical myth-narratives or imperial possession, or as having its own agency and shaping its own destiny. Generally speaking, under Islam, Palestine developed a substantial measure of economic and commercial autonomy. At the height of Islam, urban Palestine produced its own coinage and developed its own distinct commercial traditions of weights and measures. Unfortunately, however, the internal Palestinian agency and the productive and creative capacities of Palestine are often ignored or glossed over by historians who are frequently preoccupied with imperial chronologies and prefer to comment on the external influences behind the Islamic art and architecture of Ayyubid and Mamluk Jerusalem, failing to see Palestinian history from within or the autonomous agency of the Palestinians. For instance, historians often point to the aesthetics of the Tankiziyya college in Jerusalem, whose style resembles the Tankiziyya college in Damascus (see e.g. Rosen-Ayalon 2006: 119, 155), but fail to see independent Palestinian schools of art emerging within Palestine. Indeed, distinct Palestinian craft traditions and schools of art developed during the Mamluk period and are found in the glass industry of al-Khalil and the Palestinian School of Mosaics. These traditions have survived into the modern period. In the thirteenth century, during the Mamluk period, al-Khalil developed a flourishing and highly respected glass industry, including glass jewellery known in Arabic as *zujaj khalili*; the Old City of al-Khalil still includes a district named the 'Glass-Blower Quarter' and Hebron glass continues to the present day to serve as a tourist attraction for the city. Traditionally, the glass was melted using local raw materials, including sodium carbonate from the Dead Sea. Stained-glass windows and great works of art in glass produced in al-Khalil also adorn the Dome of the Rock in the Old City of Jerusalem (al-Juʾbeh 2008). Al-Khalil's glass lamps and glass ornaments were exported to Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Africa. The city became well known for its glass production throughout the Arab world and to Western travellers to Palestine in the modern period. It was also represented with glass ornaments at the World Exposition of 1873 in Vienna.

The Mamluks' major public work programmes and building renovation in urban Palestine and Syria, in general, and Jerusalem and Damascus, in particular, included the restoration of mosques, the building of madrasas, public baths and large markets and the development of spectacular architecture. This urban regeneration in Al-Quds, in particular, has left us with some of the most beautiful buildings in the Old City of Jerusalem, the Islamic medieval colleges included. One of the most remarkable schools established in Al-Quds during the Mamluk period was the exquisite Tankiziyya college compound. Constructed as a model for endowed scholarly compounds in Al-Quds, the Tankiziyya compound included a higher learning college, a mosque, a lodge (*ribat*) for women, a lodge

for Sufi teachers, an orphanage, two schools/houses for Hadith and Quranic studies, two public baths (*hammams*) and a fountain (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 83–4). Also, with its emphasis on urban expansion and regeneration, a vast system of urban businesses and rural lands of entire villages in Palestine as well as twenty-eight shops was linked to the endowment document of, and designed to secure revenues in support of, the Tankiziyya college (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 77–106). Clearly, by any standards, the economics and public dimensions associated with the Tankiziyya college endowment were very impressive, and the powerful endower of the Tankiziyya college, Mamluk ruler Sayf al-Din Said Tankiz, was also personally linked to many public building projects in Palestine and Syria. In addition to the Tankiziyya college compound, among the many building projects of Tankiz in Palestine were the building of the al-Qattanin Market and two public baths (*hammams*) in Al-Quds and the building of a hospital in Safad, a mosque in Nablus and caravanserai in Jaljulya (83).

Located in the Bab al-Silsila neighbourhood and adjacent to the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, the Tankiziyya college compound was founded in 1328–29 and named after its founder, *Amir* Sayf al-Din Said Tankiz, who ruled Syria and Palestine three times between 1298 and 1340, and rose to become a deputy of the Mamluk Sultan. A builder of major urban projects with extensive contribution to urban Jerusalem, Damascus and Nablus, Tankiz also ordered the building of the Tankiziyya college, named after him, in Jerusalem during his rule (Flood 1997: 68; Sonbol 2003: 74). His extensive building programme in Jerusalem included the Tankiziyya college, a caravanserai or a hostel for merchants (Khan Tankiz), Souq al-Qattanin (Cotton Market), three public bathhouses and a hostel (*ribat*) for unmarried and widowed women, female divorcees, aged and needy women paid for by the Tankiz endowment. Today, one part of the Tankiz compound is occupied by the Centre for Jerusalem Studies, Al-Quds University, while other parts of the compound were confiscated by the Israeli authorities after the occupation of East Jerusalem in June 1967 and are currently used as venues for 'Jewish heritage' (Emek Shaveh 2016).

The Tankiziyya college compound was built in the beautiful Mamluk urban style of architecture. Palestinian scholar Mujir al-Din, who served as headmaster of the al-Salahiyya College in Jerusalem, described the Tankiziyya college as follows: 'A great college; its perfect building is not found in any other colleges' (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 85). Apparently, Mamluk Faraj ibn Barquq Sultan (1399–1411) resided at the Tankiziyya school during his visits to the city (85–6). The main building consisted of two main floors, with an added roof-top lodge for women. The first floor consisted of the madrasa, a mosque, a library (*Khizanat al-Kutub*) and various rooms for teaching, rooms for residential scholars and boarding students, as well as rooms for various other purposes. The second floor included a lodge for Sufi teachers, a Sufi mosque and an orphanage (86). The compound also included a separate building (*ribat*) for women, near the school; priority was given to twelve 'poor and unmarried women' from Jerusalem, who were given lodging

in the women's *ribat* and were employed as salaried workers (96–7). In 1373 the annual revenues from the endowed al-Tankiziyya properties just from Aleppo and Homs in Syria was 2,914 silver dirham (89).

Public Education: Administration, Organization and Pay Structure

Under the Ayyubids there was a tradition of looking after and protecting the scholars of the public madrasas and, on special occasions, the Sultan used to deliver free bread, meat, sweets and sugar to all scholars of the madrasas (Sato 2014: 132). This tradition of patronage seems to have continued under the Mamluks. Public education in Palestine under both the Ayyubids and Mamluks meant that considerable sums of money and resources were invested by the state and ruling elites on the learning practices and economics of the endowed public system of law colleges; salaries were paid to staff of the colleges in Jerusalem and generally grants, food rations and pensions were given to those who were engaged in learning and teaching (Leiser 2006: 457; Mahamid 2011: 141–51; Totah 1926: 21); but the economy of the *waqf*-backed endowed law colleges of Jerusalem should also be seen within the wider concept of the pre-capitalist moral economy of Islam. Also, significantly, the free provision of high-quality wheat and bread – which were always viewed as central to the pre-capitalist moral economy of Islam, and the prices of which were often carefully regulated by the state – were an important part of the pay structure of the staff of many of the Islamic colleges of Jerusalem.

The considerable economics of the endowed Tankiziyya college compound enabled the establishment of a community of scholars, students and Sufi teachers and preachers; a community of men and women were all housed in the compound; residential male scholars and boarding students learned, worked and prayed at the college mosque together. Crucially, as is clear from the below, the pay structure of the Tankiziyya college, the permanent and travelling Sufi scholars – like the itinerant, peripatetic teachers of the ancient world – played an important role in the educational structure and activities of the Tankiziyya college. Also, both salaried men and women were employed by the Tankiziyya college, although on significantly different pay scales. According to the founding deed of the *waqf* endowment of the Tankiziyya college, dozens of staff were employed by this institution; the progression of students was also classified under three levels: beginner, middle and graduate. Also, interestingly, while the headteacher – *Madrasa Shaykh* (or College Professor) – of the Salahiyya college in Jerusalem was directly appointed by the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo and usually held the position of *Shaykh al-Islam* and served as the city's chief judge (Mahamid 2012: 232–3), the founding deed of the Tankiziyya college showed that the College Professor (*Madrasa Shaykh*) was appointed by the Tankiziyya Endowment Controller/governor (*Nazir al-Waqf*) in Jerusalem rather than directly by the Mamluk Sultan

in Cairo, something which may have given the Tankiziyya college a greater degree of local administrative autonomy than the Salahiyya college.

Hijih and al-Tel (2015: 99–101) describe the organization and monthly (and per diem) pay structure of the salaries of the Tankiziyya college (male and female) staff and workers – a structure that must have changed over time – based on the records of the Islamic Sharia Court in Jerusalem, as follows:

Male staff and their monthly salaries, paid in silver *dirham* (in addition to the free provision of high-quality wheat for bread):

1. *Endowment Controller/governor* (*Nazir al-Waqf*): This director of the Tankiziyya *waqf* was the most senior position; the head of the college *waqf* oversaw the administration of the college and its considerable endowed assets and investments, including its premises, lands and properties. His role consisted of: a) the overall administration of the college; b) the appointment of all staff working for the endowment and the college, including the *College Professor* (*Madrasa Shaykh*); c) the supervision of all rented properties and the collection of the proceeds; d) the overall expenditure on the college; e) the repair, renovation and refurbishment of the endowment's buildings, college, the library and the mosque. Salary: *unknown; but likely to be above 60 dirham*.
2. *College Professor* (*Madrasa Shaykh, or mudarris*): appointed by *Nazir al-Waqf*; the founding deed stipulated that the Endowment Governor and the *Madrasa Shaykh* should belong to the Hanafi school of jurisprudence – although several teachers of the Tankiziyya college belonged to the Shafiʿi school of jurisprudence and even other schools of Islamic jurisprudence (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 94). Salary: 60 *dirham.*
3. *Teaching Assistant* (*muʾid*): assisted the college Shaykh (Professor) in his work; organized the scheduled lessons; tutored and explained lessons to students, followed and marked homework; recorded attendance of lessons by students. Salary: *30 dirham.*
4. *Head of the Sufi khanqah* (*Shaykh of the Sufi Khanqah*): a *khanqah* is a building designed specifically for gatherings of a Sufi brotherhood and they often served as hospices for Sufi travellers. An important position, the *Shaykh of the Sufi house* headed fifteen Sufi residents at the college, one of them served as a servant and another as a cook; the Sufi lodge housed ten travelling teachers every month. Salary: *60 dirham.*
5. *Teaching Sufi staff*: Salary: *10 dirham.*
6. *A Cook for Sufi Staff*: Salary: *15 dirham.*
7. *Travelling Sufi scholars and teachers*: Salary: *half a dirham daily plus 5 dirham on departure.*
8. *Head of the Hadith House of the college* (*Shaykh al-Muhaddithin*): after the Quran the Hadith, the words and actions of the Prophet, formed the most important foundation of Islamic thought. The *Head of the Hadith House* headed twenty Hadith teachers. Salary: *40 dirham.*

9. *Hadith teachers*: twenty staff employed. Salary: *20 dirham.*
10. *Hadith narrator*: *7.5 dirham.*
11. *Gradutes of Hadith*: *7.5 dirham.*
12. *Graduated Jurist* (*faqih muntahi*): 20 *dirham.*
13. *Middle jurist* (*faqih muawassit*): *15 dirham.*
14. *Novice jurist* (*faqih mubtadi'*): *10 dirham.*
15. *Quran reader or reciter*: *10 dirham.*
16. *School Porter*: *20 dirham.*
17. *School officers*: *10 dirham.*
18. *Head of Hygiene, Cleaning and Purification Services*: *10 dirham.*

Residential and non-residential female staff (who were paid less than men) and their monthly silver salaries (in addition to the free provision of high-quality wheat for bread):

1. *Head of the Women's Lodge* (*ribat*) (*Shaykhat Ribat al-Nisa'a*): Salary: *10 dirham.*
2. *10 Elderly Residential Female Pensioners*: *7.5 dirham.*
3. *Female Porter*: *1 dirham.*
4. *The non-residential female workers employed*: *daily: quarter of a dirham.*

The considerable annual expenditure of the Tankiziyya college, according to its 1328–29 foundational deed, can also be seen in comparison with the annual expenditure of the mid-fifteenth-century al-Jawhariyya college in Jerusalem (Madrasa al-Jawhariyya, founded by *Imam* Jawhar al-Qunqubay in 1440 and allocated a generous *waqf*). The annual expenditure of the al-Jawhariyya college in the mid-fifteenth century was about 9,600 silver dirhams and 11,376 pounds of bread (Hawari et al. 2010).

If Gaza was the premier 'university town' of Byzantine Palestine (especially in the fifth to the sixth century), Al-Quds (Jerusalem) became the premier 'university town' of the Arabic sciences in Muslim-majority Palestine under the Mamluks. European universities, such as Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, all evolved from a series of scholastic colleges in the high Middle Ages whose early focus of education was divinity and law. Baghdad was sacked by the invading Mongols in 1258 and many of its great libraries and scholastic law colleges, together with the Abbasid Caliphate, were destroyed. Baghdad was effectively replaced by medieval Cairo (under the Mamluks) as the most important centre of academic learning and (university-type) colleges in the Near East.

In Palestine, the pinnacle of higher learning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the endowed public top law colleges of medieval (Mamluk) Jerusalem; they competed with each other as well as with the two much bigger metropolitan centres in the Near East and the older endowed Islamic colleges of

Cairo and Damascus[5] in the number and quality of their higher learning colleges, and managed to attract some of the best scholars from Palestine, Egypt and Syria as well as some of the brightest students from Palestine and beyond (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 95). Many of the scholars and heads of the Tankiziyya and Salahiyya colleges during the Mamluk period were natives of the cities of Jerusalem, Safad, Asqalan, Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo (Ahmad 2015: 49; Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 91–4). Often, Palestinian and Arab scholars (and their ideas) moved freely between the top law colleges of Jerusalem, such as the Salahiyya and Tankiziyya colleges, and the great centres of Islamic scholarship in Cairo, Jerusalem, Asqalan, Safad, Damascus and Baghdad. During this long Mamluk period, leading Palestinian Muslim students and scholars (*ʿulama*) moved freely between Palestine, Egypt and al-Sham not only to study but also for senior academic, administrative and judicial jobs. For instance, Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani (1372–1449) was a leading medieval Shafiʿi Sunni scholar. Born in Cairo in 1372 as Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn ʿAli, he was the son of the Shafiʿi scholar and poet Nur al-Din ʿAli, but he became famous as 'Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani' because his family had originated in the city of ʿAsqalan in Palestine. Ibn Hajar studied Islamic jurisprudence in the advanced colleges of Jerusalem and Damascus and went on to be appointed to the position of chief judge (*qadi*) of Egypt. Ibn Hajar authored numerous works on Islamic jurisprudence, interpretation, history and poetry and Shafiʿi jurisprudence, the most famous of which was his commentary on the *Sahih of Bukhari*, entitled *Fath al-Bari* (Adamec 2009: 136). Also, the importance of linking 'town and gown' and the combining of an academic teaching career with a senior judiciary career can be seen in the case of Ibn Hajar. His lifelong teaching career in the most famous colleges of medieval Cairo and Islam at the time (including the Shuyukhiyya, the Mahmudiyya, the Hasaniyya, the Bebrasiyya, the Fakhriyya, the Salih, the Muayadiyya and the Jamal al-Din al-Astadar) went hand in hand with assuming the most senior judiciary position in Egypt.

Early European printed pilgrims' accounts and guides for pilgrims in the late fifteenth century identify the Tankiziyya college as a key institution in Jerusalem. In his Latin account, Felix Fabri (1441–1502), a Swiss Dominican preacher who visited the city first in 1480 and wrote detailed descriptions of his pilgrimage, shows that the Tankiziyya college premises were also used as the seat of the city's judicial system (*diwan al-qada*) (cited in Hijih and al-Tel 2015). Bernhard von Breydenbach and Erhard Reuwich's 'Map of the City of Jerusalem', from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (AD 1486) by Erhard Reuwich – a guide for pilgrims and one of the earliest examples of an illustrated travel book – shows a pictorial illustration of the Tankiziyya Madrasa, Bab al-Silsala minaret, the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (partially destroyed) and the Dome of the Rock (reproduced in Ross 2014: fig. 97).

Arches with ornamental internal stucco reliefs were widespread in Islamic Abbasid architecture. This ornamental tradition is also found in the hybrid Romanesque crusader-Ayyubid architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Palestine; a semicircular construction that can hold more weight than

a horizontal beam survived into the Mamluk architecture of Jerusalem (Tanman 2012: 290). Culturally, artistically and architecturally, the concept of the 'hanging *madrasa*' – which entailed that part or all of the interior be constructed atop a portico or a series of arches – was first applied by Tankiz for his Islamic madrasa in Jerusalem (Flood 1997: 95). An inscription on the Tankiziyya madrasa bearing the symbol of Tankiz can be seen clearly today. The Tankiziyya college served several purposes: an Islamic law college, a school for the *muhaddithun* (experts in Islamic Hadith) and a home for a community of Sufi teachers and women (Sonbol 2003: 74). A set of rules regulated when and where each of the distinct groups residing in the complex would meet for study, daily recitations of the Quran and prayers for the founder of the *madrasa*, Tankiz, and his descendants as well as the ruling Sultan (Pahlitzsch 2001: 340–1).

A common myth about the 'Islamic cities' and the city of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is both the 'separation of religious communities' and genders as well as 'gender-oriented prohibitions' (Ze'evi 1996: 17). Religious autonomy for Christians and Jews under Islam did not mean separation, and during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods women in Jerusalem played an active role in the establishment and running of many endowed law colleges and charitable institutions in the city. Generally, in the Middle Ages upper-class Arab and Muslim women and daughters of wealthy merchants were often educated privately. But it is also often overlooked that one of the world's oldest continually operating colleges, the Madrasa (later university) of al-Qarawiyyin, in the Moroccan city of Fes, was founded by a Muslim woman, Fatima al-Fihri, in AD 859, the educated daughter of a wealthy merchant (Zeghal 2012: 128). Notable graduates of the Qarawiyyin Madrasa include distinguished Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd (1126–98) and leading Arab-Jewish polymath Maimonides. Even though the University of Qarawiyyin began to admit female students only recently, and very recently in significant numbers, both Fatima al-Fihri and her sister Maryam had attended school and each received an education in the ninth century (128). Home schooling and privately taught literacy among middle-class and wealthy Muslim women in urban Palestine was not uncommon. Crucially, some wealthy Muslim women were directly involved in setting up top colleges, such as the Tankiziyya college in Jerusalem. The endowment of the Tankiziyya college set up diverse charitable properties to support it and to provide it with future income for its upkeep and support of its academics and students. Scholars often assume that these Islamic madrasas of Jerusalem were largely the preserve of men (scholars, teachers, students and travelling Sufi teachers). Yet, the five-page endowment document establishing these properties details instructions for spending the income, and from these documents we find that an income was also to be paid to the s*haykha* of the women in the school (*Ribat al-Nisa'a*), and to the women who lived in that *ribat* as well as guests visiting the schools such as Sufis and women (Sonbol 2003: 74). The Tankiz school bequest foundation also contained a women's hospice (Flood 1997: 91).

Early Ottoman Jerusalem maintained many of the educational institutions and social and religious structures of Mamluk Jerusalem. In early Ottoman Jerusalem, in which Arabic was spoken by the majority of people, while the local elites spoke Turkish (Ze'evi 1996: IX), the colleges/mosques/libraries of the city (e.g. al-Aqsa) continued to function as the major centres of learning in the country. In the century following the Ottoman conquest of the district (Sanjak) of Jerusalem and, especially, in the 1600s, the Ottomans, like the Mamluks, recognized the special importance of Jerusalem to Islam and pursued pragmatic policies and retained many of the characteristics of the Mamluk Sultanate. Old social institutions, laws, cultural norms, administrative divisions and even some of the old Mamluk elites survived. *Waqf* lands and *waqf* properties – which supported many madrasas in the city – which constituted the largest part of cultivated land, estimated by some at around 60 per cent, as well as Mamluk period and *waqf*-backed institutions, remained intact (Ze'evi 1996: 2–3).

Pre-modern Palestine (and Egypt and Syria) was repeatedly plagued by epidemics, and in 1348 the Gaza region was devastated by an epidemic that killed more than 22,000 people (Filiu 2014: 24). Moreover, until the late nineteenth century and the introduction of modern healthcare, a high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy for many people was a worldwide phenomenon and early Ottoman Palestine was no exception. However, the then centres of Palestine, including Jerusalem, Gaza and Safad (the three biggest cities in the country under the Mamluks and early Ottomans), continued to grow and the numbers in each of these cities were estimated at 5,000 to 6,000, and these populations continued to grow steadily until the middle of the 1600s (Ze'evi 1996: 2–3).

Generously Endowed Madrasas: The Jawhariyya College

In addition to the Salahiyya and Tankiziyya colleges, the Jawhariyya college also became, socially and culturally, among the elite colleges of the city during the Mamluk period. Like many colleges in Jerusalem which were well endowed and sought to accommodate Sufi lodges, the Jawhariyya madrasa and its *khanqah* (Sufi *ribat*) were completed, according to its inscription, on 26 November 1440, with an elaborate decorative rose window (BSaurgoyne 1987: 555–67). Becoming one of the madrasas located on the street leading to Bab al-Hadith, one of the Haram's gates, the school was founded by Imam Jawhar al-Qunqubay in 1440, a former servant to an Abyssinian ruler and eunuch who had served the Mamluk Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–99). Freed later on, Jawhar occupied senior positions in the Mamluk administration and served several Mamluk sultans and *amirs* and became the treasurer of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (r. 1422–38); he was later awarded the title 'Shaykh of Shaykhs', although normally the position of *imam* attracted men of only secondary academic accomplishments. Initially aimed at

accommodating travelling Sufi teachers and encouraging recitation of the Quran (Hawari et al. 2010), the college soon emerged and developed into a major centre of learning in the city.

Jawhar died a month after the completion of his school in Jerusalem. An immensely wealthy individual, Jawhar endowed the school and Sufi *khanqah* with generous *waqf* resources, which included lands and orchards in the then villages of Tulkarm, Taqw and Beit Zeitun (Hawari et al. 2010). The annual expenditure of the Jawhariyya madrasa in the mid-fifteenth century was about 9,600 silver dirhams and 11,376 pounds of bread (Hawari et al. 2010). These considerable *waqf* resources enabled Jawhariyya college to develop as one of the top advanced colleges of Jerusalem and to play a major life in the academic, social and cultural life of the city:

> The Jawhariyya played a leading cultural and social role in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Elite jurists and scholars taught there, including Shaykh [professor] Kamal al-Din Ibn Abi Sharif al-Qudsi, one of the most renowned *shaykhs* [professors] of the Madrasa Salahiyya. Many of Jerusalem's distinguished guests stayed there; among them were judge Sharaf al-Din Musa al-Ansari, the Sultan's deputy in 845/1471, and judge Shihab al-Din Ibn Jabaylat who had come to Jerusalem to investigate the building of a synagogue for the Jews of the city after it had been destroyed. He listened to their testimony in the Jawahiriyya.
>
> (Natsheh 2010b: 118)

Evidently, the madrasa continued to function during the early Ottoman period, at least until 1681 (Madrasat and Ribat al-Jawhariyya n.d.). Today the Department of Islamic Archeology occupies one part of the building, while the rest has become private residential houses.

The Third Jewel of the Third Shrine of Islam: The Ashrafiyya College and the Exquisite Islamic Architecture of Al-Quds

The Mamluk patronage of learning and higher education madrasas in Jerusalem was matched by their patronage of exquisite architecture in the city. If the Salahiyya and Tankiziyya colleges were, academically, the two leading colleges of Islamic Jerusalem, architecturally, the Ashrafiyya college, also known as *al-Madrasa al-Sultaniyya*, is the most grandiose and exquisite college of Mamluk Palestine. Founded by Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qaytbay and built between 1480 and 1482 on the western side of the Haram compound and facing the Dome of the Rock, the Ashrafiyya college was one of the most luxurious schools in Jerusalem from a geometrical and architectural viewpoint. Both Jerusalemite Palestinian scholar Mujir al-Din and Archibald Walls, a leading authority on the architecture

of the Middle East, described the Ashrafiyya college as the third jewel of the Haram compound after the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque (al-Natsheh 2021a; Walls 1984: 7–12; 1990). Qaytbay, widely recognized as a great patron of art, architecture and learning, also sponsored an exquisite fountain, the Sabil of Qaytbay, a domed public fountain (*sabil*), situated 50 metres west of the Dome of the Rock, still standing today (Bloom and Blair 2009: 457, s.v. 'Mamluk').

The Ashrafiyya college was one of dozens of major imperial structures and exquisite buildings constructed by Qaytbay in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the holy cities of the Hijaz. While the Salahiyya and Tankiziyya colleges were, in practice, developed and dominated by local and regional social elites, the spectacular Mamluk Islamic architecture of the college may also suggest that the college was conceived by Qaytbay as a provincial 'imperial' Mamluk college (Tamari 1976: 537–68), and this is partly explained by the fact that it was known as *al-Madrasa al-Sultaniyya* (the Sultan College), although Qaytbay himself died in 1496. The site of the Ashrafiyya madrasa was decided personally by Qaytbay, who visited Jerusalem in 1475 and ordered that a new construction of the college should be established to replace a previous madrasa built by the Mamluk Sultan Khushqadam (d.1467) in 1465 (Blair and Bloom 1995: 92–9). Qaytbay also commissioned a team of builders and artisans, including an Egyptian Coptic architect, to work on this project (92–3). Qaytbay also endowed a quarter of the revenues of Mulabbis (later replaced by the Zionist settlement of Petah Tiqva) to the Ashrafiyya college in Jerusalem, and a mosque in Gaza (Marom 2019: 134–45).

Architecturally and aesthetically, the Islamic colleges in Jerusalem were also important in terms of introducing new Islamic styles of architecture to the city. For instance, the Islamic stalactite work in Jerusalem, also called *muqarnas* (honeycomb work), in vaulting, domes and doorways, a form of architectural ornamentation that became characteristic of Islamic architecture in Mamluk Aleppo and Damascus, was first employed in Jerusalem at the Dawadariyya college founded in 1295 (Hawari 2007: 54) and became one of the principal elements of Islamic decorative architecture in Jerusalem and an ornamental form designed to convey the grandeur, sophistication and complexity of the prestigious Islamic law colleges of Palestine.

Architecturally, the beautiful Mamluk style of the Ashrafiyya college can be easily identified by its protruding structure into the Haram area. The building is located on the western border of the Haram compound Bab al-Silsila (Gate of the Chain) and Bab al-Qattanin (Gate of the Cotton Merchants), both of which lead to the Haram compound (al-Natsheh 2021a). The college, like the Tankiziyya college, was built on two storeys, which included halls for study, boarding rooms, a mosque, a library and rooms for various amenities (al-Natsheh 2021a). The façade of the building was 25 metres wide and projected in front of the long arcade that ran along the western boundary of the Haram al-Sharif, which would have made the college highly visible, a feature likely owed to its Mamluk imperial patronage (Blair and Bloom 1995: 92–3). Artistically, the entrance of the college is composed of a

number of different elements and Mamluk decorative motifs (al-Natsheh 2021a). The ground floor extended eastwards; the northern component of the madrasa was occupied by a large rectangular assembly hall (*Qaʾat al-Majmaʾ*), which was accessed by a relatively simple doorway flanked by two windows (which can still be seen today). The southern part of this level was taken up by an elaborately crafted stone portal, preceded by a porch and by a Mamluk-style stone-carved groin vault. An Arabic inscription near the portal records the completion date of construction as 1482. This entrance leads to a vestibule and then to a staircase ascending to the upper floor, which is where the madrasa proper was located. The college was centred around a large rectangular courtyard similar to those built by Qaytbay earlier at his mosque/madrasa in Cairo. The eastern side of the courtyard was taken up by a triple-arched loggia that provided an unimpeded view of the Dome of the Rock. Living quarters for students were arranged around another upper courtyard or terrace built over the adjacent Baladiyya madrasa (Blair and Bloom 1995: 92–3). The college building was partially destroyed in an earthquake in 1927, resulting in extensive damage especially to the top floor (al-Natsheh 2021a). Once used as a hall of the Aqsa Mosque Library, today the college premises are being used as a Palestinian training centre for the restoration and preservation of Islamic manuscripts and documents (al-Natsheh 2021a).

Both architecturally and in scholarly terms, the college attracted many positive comments from travellers; Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi described it in 1669–1670 as the best of the schools of Jerusalem while Arab traveller and scholar ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, who visited Jerusalem in 1689 or 1691, stayed in the school and described it as a great school of great importance (Baktir 2013: 111–20).

Muslim Women Patrons of Public Education: The Khatuniyya College and the Malikiyya College

Founded in 1191, the Khatuniyya college (established during the Ayyubid period in 1195 as a Hanafi college) was one of two important colleges in Jerusalem named after, or endowed by, wealthy Ayyubid/Mamluk women patrons; the other was the Malikiyya college, both colleges bordering the Haram compound. The Malikiyya college was a Shafiʿi college built in 1344 by Mamluk al-Malik al-Jukandar and named after his wife, Malak bint al-Seifi Qaltaqtum al-Nasiri; its façade was a striking example of exquisite Mamluk Islamic architecture in Jerusalem. Malak bint al-Seifi Qaltaqtum al-Nasiri endowed the college as a *waqf* in 1344, and was buried there upon her death. Today Malikiyya college serves as a private residence for the Khatib family. The more prestigious Khatuniyya college was named after ʿIsmat al-Din Khatun (d.1186), daughter of the regent of Damascus, Muʾin al-Din Unur, and wife of two of the greatest Muslim generals of the twelfth century: Nur al-Din, the Zengid emir of Aleppo, and Salah al-Din. In Damascus, ʿIsmat

al-Din Khatun was the benefactor of numerous endowed institutions and religious architecture, including a madrasa (Humphreys 1994: 43). The title *Khatun* was an honorific title meaning 'lady' or 'noblewoman' under both the Ayyubids and Mamluks; during the Mamluk period the Khatuniyya college *waqf* endowment became linked to another wealthy (Mamluk) woman *khatun* and amir's wife: al-Ugul Khatun al-Qazaniyya al-Baghdadiyya – who endowed the college in 1373 (Luz 2014: 237). The third *waqf* of the college was attributed to another wealthy Mamluk woman, Isfahan Shah, daughter of the Amir Qazan Shah, in 1380.

Located between Bab Souq al-Qattanin and Bab al-Hadid, the Khatuniyya college had a large hall overlooking the western portico of al-Aqsa Mosque. It is not entirely clear whether the Khatuniyya managed to function as a college for a long period. However, over time the Khatuniyya came to be used, at least in part, as a major compound for housing the tombs of Palestinian national leaders, including Musa Kazem al-Husseini (1853–1934), ʿAbd al-Qader al-Husseini (1907–48), Ahmad Hilmi ʿAbd al-Baqi (1883–1963), ʿAbd al-Hamid Shuman (1888–1974) and Faisal al-Husseini (1940–2001) – as well as those of al-Sharif ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn ʿOun and Muhammad ʿAli Jouhar (al-Hindi) (1878–1931), the latter an Indian Muslim scholar and educationalist and the sixth Muslim to become President of the Indian National Congress.

The long tradition of women's involvement in public education in Palestine continued into the modern period: (1) in the late Ottoman period the extensive school system of *Rahbat-al-Wardiyya* (the indigenous Arab Sisters of the Rosary) was founded by Jerusalemite Maryam Sultanah Danil Ghattas (Sister Marie Alphonsine Danil Ghattas [1843–1927]); (2) the University of Bir Zeit (since 1975) evolved from a school founded in the 1920s by three sisters, Elizabeth, Victoria and Nabiha Nasir (1891–1951); and (3) the Dar al-Tifel al-Arabi School in Jerusalem was founded in 1948 by Jerusalemite Hind al-Husseini as a school for Palestinian children and victims of the 1948 Nakba.

The Eminent Scholar-Judge and Salah al-Din's Physicians: Hospitals, Hospices and Clinical Medical Training

Salah al-Din's military campaigns against the Frankish crusaders have been widely documented by historians, but less attention has been given to the scholars, scientists and strategic military planners who played a key role in the recovery of Jerusalem by Salah al-Din. Also, the centrality of learning and scholarship to the Ayyubid administration can be seen in the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥim ibn ʿAli al-ʿAsqalani (1135–1200), also known as the 'Virtuous Judge' (*al-Qaḍi al-Faḍil*), perhaps the most influential Palestinian intellectual and eminent judge of the Ayyubid state. Al-ʿAsqalani was born in the city of ʿAsqalan (Palestine) and later moved to Beisan (Palestine), together with his father, who served as the judge of

the district of Beisan under the Fatimids. Al-ʿAsqalani's elementary education was in Palestine. At the age of seventeen he went to Egypt to seek higher education in the sciences; he ended up joining the Fatimid government bureaucracy and rose to become head of the Army Office (*Diwan al-Jaysh*). He then moved to the Office of the Fatimid Caliph (*Diwan al-Khilifa*) and also became the head of the large Fatimid palace library and other state libraries; the Fatimid royal library was estimated to contain 160,000 books (Goody 2004: 57, 60). A poet, al-ʿAsqalani also authored many works in Arabic literature and his original style created a literary school in Arabic. Al-ʿAsqalani then collaborated with the Ayyubids in overthrowing the Fatimid state and rose to become the first minister of the Ayyubid state, which had replaced the Fatimids, and the official spokesperson for Salah al-Din (Mahmoud n.d.; Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia: 1977: 25–38; 1993). Becoming in addition Salah al-Din's right-hand man for military and strategic affairs as the Ayyubid leader confronted the Frankish crusaders in Palestine, al-ʿAsqalani accompanied Salah al-Din and planned many of his military campaigns in Palestine; he also wrote a historical account of the recovery of Jerusalem by Salah al-Din in 1187. Salah al-Din was later reported to have said about al-ʿAsqalani:

> Do not think that I possessed the country with your swords, but with the pen of [al-Qadi] al-Fadil'.[6]

This eminent Palestinian judge of the Ayyubid state was also a close friend of Arab-Jewish physician and philosopher Maimonides, who lived in the metropolitan multicultural city of medieval Cairo and served as a physician to al-Malik al-Afdal, the son and successor of Salah al-Din; Maimonides wrote medical treatises dedicated to the Ayyubid Sultan (Ragab 2015: 157).

Under the Ayyubids and Mamluks – in contrast to the subsequent rise of the Muslim *muftis* under the Ottomans – the Muslim *scholar-judges* in Jerusalem also served as the heads of prestigious law colleges, and in general the Islamic judiciary, courts, state bureaucracy, public notaries and clerks licensed to prepare legal documents all remained central to higher learning. While the queen of Arabic and Islamic higher education in Ayyubid and Mamluk Jerusalem was legal (fiqh) and judicial scholarship, with the massive expansion of literate state bureaucracy and advanced colleges under Ayyubid and Mamluk patronage in Jerusalem, and the influx of students and scholars to the city, the status of professional medicine in Palestine, and indeed the Near East as a whole, was also transformed, with professional medical sciences being promoted by the state together with the introduction of medical apprenticeships for young trainee doctors (Amar 2002: 81–4).

Much of the research on medicine in medieval Jerusalem focuses on the famous hospital founded by the crusaders in the city: the hospital of Saint John, established by the Knights Hospitaller. Others have focused on the establishment of hospitals, hospices and medical studies by the Ayyubid and Mamluk states in Cairo and

Damascus. However, epidemics were not uncommon in medieval Palestine and the region, and together with the Mamluks' massive reconstruction of Jerusalem, clean drinking water and sanitation were major preoccupations of Ayyubid and Mamluk officials in Jerusalem; also, the establishment of many public hot baths, examined regularly by inspectors of public services (*muhtasibs*), became a major feature of post-crusade Islamic Jerusalem. In line with the empirical traditions of Arab sciences in the Middle Ages, medical training in medieval Islam was often carried out through private arrangements and private tutoring and supervision, or in practice in a hospital environment. We do not have details or documentary evidence about formal medical study at the advanced Islamic colleges of Jerusalem during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Amar 2002: 82). In comparison, there is evidence about formal medical studies and professional apprenticeship of the doctors at some advanced madrasas of Mamluk Egypt (82) as well as – as we shall see below – at the Salahi hospital in Jerusalem.

Salah al-Din also took a keen interest in the medical service, the 'medical industries' and the medical library of the Damascene Christian physician Muwaffaq al-Din Ibn al-Mutran, who accompanied Salah al-Din during his military campaigns, employed three copyists and owned ten thousand medical volumes (Ibn Abi ʿUsaybah 1965: 651–60). Under Salah al-Din, Islamic medieval hospitals in the multicultural cities of Jerusalem, Cairo and Damascus became, in practice, schools of medicine. Already in 1193, together with the founding of the Salahiyya college in Jerusalem, Salah al-Din also founded a large hospital in the city (Northrup 2001: 124; Ragab 2015: 8; Richards 1994: 70–83) – al-Salahi Bi-maristan (hospital), on a site close to an earlier hospital established by the Knights Hospitaller, in an area in the centre of the old city, which may have also preserved the hospital name until today: *Muristan*. Also, an endowed bi-maristan (hospital) was established by the Mamluks in Safad (Conermann 2014: *55*). As a public hospital, the Salahi bi-maristan employed staff from diverse faith communities and provided medical services for the entire population in the city, without distinction of religion (Amar 2002: 94). Muwaffaq al-Din Yaqub was a Palestinian Arab Christian physician of Jerusalem (d.1228) who served as a manager of the hospital of Jerusalem under Ayyubid Sultan Sharaf ad-Din al-Muʾazzam Isa (1176–1227), a nephew of Salah al-Din, who ruled Syria and Palestine (from Damascus) from 1218 to 1227. Born in Jerusalem during Frankish rule, Yaqub also served as a physician in Frankish Jerusalem and then moved to practise medicine in Ayyubid Damascus (Kohlberg and Kedar [1988] 1993: 113–26) and he may have inherited some of the medical practices of the Knights Hospitaller in Jerusalem. Crucially, Yaqub was probably the most important Arab medical expert of his day on Galen (known to the Arabs then as Galenus) and Hippocrates (known to the Arabs then as Epicrat), the latter being one of the most outstanding figures in the history of medicine and the founder of the Hippocratic School of Medicine, who was also credited with clinical medicine and coining the Hippocratic Oath. Yaqub, who spoke Greek and kept copies of

the corpus of Galen and Hippocrates in Greek in his personal library, cited these works repeatedly; he also translated other medical Greek texts into Arabic (Ibn Abi ʿUsaybah 1965: 697–9). Interestingly, Yaqub was also a close associate of a scholar monk and 'natural philosopher' at Mar Saba monastery (known to local Palestinians as 'Dayr al-Siq'), who took an interest in natural sciences, engineering, arithmetic and astronomy (698). The great library at Mar Saba had survived for hundreds of years and the monastery had been renovated by the Ayyubids after they recovered Jerusalem from the Frankish crusaders in 1187. As we have already seen in Chapter 3, the Mar Saba monastery was a key Palestinian seat of learning and an international centre for the translation of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic throughout the eighth to the eleven century and Yaqub may have obtained some of his Greek medical texts from this monastery and other monasteries in Jerusalem.

The Salahi Bi-maristan in Jerusalem, like other similar hospitals in Damascus and Cairo, was a 'secular' clinical institution (Ragab 2015: xi) which also served as a kind of training school of medicine. Also, Arabic medical encyclopaedias (Ibn Abi ʿUsaybah 1965) began to appear, as well as factual manuals detailing the supervising of the medical community and the administration of the famous Greek Hippocratic Oath in Arabic by physicians, as well as certificates (*ijazas*) signed by senior physicians in Syria, Palestine and Egypt as licences for medical practioners. Other Arab medical practioners of the time sought to create new alliances and new terminologies which bridged the gaps between rational and secular medical sciences and Islamic religious sciences (Conermann 2014: 113–14).

The Palestinian Uprising of 1703–1705 and the Decline of the Madrasas of Jerusalem under the Ottomans

The celebrated Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611–82), who visited Palestine twice, in 1649 and in 1670–71, including Jerusalem in 1670, produced a travelogue of his extensive journeys throughout the Ottoman Empire and adjacent lands, entitled *Seyaḥat-name* (Book of Travel), in which he recorded that he had visited seventeen countries in thirty-eight years but had never seen a city comparable to Jerusalem in beauty and economic prosperity (Baktir 2013: 117).[7] Çelebi's account shows that Jerusalem of the seventeenth century was still a major Palestinian and international centre of Islamic learning: he mentioned forty madrasas for boys and young men in the city in addition to eight centres ('houses') for the study of the Hadith, ten centres for the study of the Quran and some seventy teaching Sufi lodges, which attracted Sufi scholars from across the Islamic world; he also mentioned that eight hundred paid scholars, teachers and preachers worked in the Haram compound and its adjacent schools and colleges. Çelebi's account also shows that a large number of Jerusalem schools and colleges, including the

prestigious Salahiyya college, had continued to flourish from the Mamluk period into the early Ottoman period.

The Salahiyya college did not survive into the modern era, although some attempts were made in the late Ottoman period to revive it. In 1856, with the increasing European penetration of Palestine, the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbdel Majid granted Napoleon III the site of al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya – the former Crusader Church of Saint Anne – in recognition for French support in the Crimean War, and a seminary for Greek Catholics was subsequently established on the site by the White Fathers (Hess and Pringle 2018: 349). Despite the initial significant investments in Jerusalem by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566) – also known as Suleiman al-Qanuni ('the Lawgiver') – especially an ambitious series of public works and renovation projects, including the famous Ottoman Walls of Jerusalem, the establishment of a provincial imperial school, al-Madrasa al-ʿUthmaniyya, inside the Haram compound (Burak 2013: 111–25), and an outstanding mosque-lamp made for the Dome of the Rock in 1549, now in the British Museum – the gradual decay and decline of the urban space in Palestine and the law colleges of Jerusalem under the Ottomans were much in evidence. The evidence available from the early eighteenth century (1717, to be precise) shows that the assets of the Salahiyya college were extensive – 215 including rented properties, shops in Jerusalem and agricultural lands (Ahmad 2015: 56–75) – while the evidence from the mid-seventeenth century (1654 and 1671) shows that the Salahiyya college was semi-ruined and its *waqf* had insufficient funds or resources to restore its premises; and despite local attempts to repair the building in the 1770s, the college premises were found in ruins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (26–9). It seems that the Jerusalem-led anti-Ottoman Palestinian popular uprising of 1703–05 and financial mismanagement of the college and its *waqf* contributed to the decline of the Salahiyya college. In 1703 the then governor of the Salahiyya college *waqf* was the Naqib al-Ashraf of Jerusalem, Muhammad ibn Mustafa al-Wafai al-Husseini, a member of the notable Husseini family, who played a key role in the uprising, which followed excessive Ottoman taxes and repressive local policies aimed at reducing local autonomy. Naqib al-Ashraf succeeded in expelling the Ottoman governor and his troops from Jerusalem for two years (Mannaʾ 1994: 51–66). Becoming known as the Naqib al-Ashraf rebellion, the uprising was likely to have been participated in by the students and staff of the Salahiyya college. Husseini, who fled the city, was later captured and executed by the Ottomans, and his death and the suppression of the uprising in the city marked the sharp decline of the college in the eighteenth century. However, because the Salahiyya *waqf* per se survived into the late nineteenth century and because a namesake school, al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya, sponsored by Jamal Pasha, the dictatorial military Governor of Syria and Palestine during the First World War, was set up in Jerusalem in the late Ottoman period (Ahmad 2015; Strohmeier 2000: 57–62), all this led some authors to confuse this new school with the prestigious Salahiyya college of the Ayyubid, Mamluk and

early Ottoman periods – one of the most important historic higher education colleges of Palestine that had educated students for hundreds of years but had evidently become a shadow of its former self by the mid-eighteenth century.

Clearly the sharp decline of the Salahiyya college in the eighteenth century also mirrored the decline of the important Tankiziyya college during the middle Ottoman period. Already the decline of the Tankiziyya college during the Ottoman period can be seen in the fact that, throughout this period, the college premises became the seat of the Islamic Sharia court of Jerusalem (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 86). This decline of the law colleges of Jerusalem was due to several factors, including Ottoman centralization policies in Palestine and the weakening of the social and cultural autonomy of the Palestinian urban elites, which for centuries had played an important role in the establishment and administration of many madrasas in the city – especially in the aftermath of the Jerusalem-led anti-Ottoman popular uprising of 1703–05 – the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this study. Some important madrasas such as the Salahiyya madrasa could have survived and developed into modern universities had the Ottomans chosen to invest in the madrasas of Jerusalem. Suleiman the Magnificent did invest heavily in renovating the holy places of Islam in Jerusalem and the wall surrounding the city. But there is no evidence of any parallel investment in the important Islamic colleges of the city, and nothing like the way both the Ayyubid and Mamluk states chose to prioritize Islamic colleges and other charitable institutions in Jerusalem.

The Legacy of the Islamic Law Colleges of Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus: The Rise of Pragmatic and Legal Literacy

The impact of the law colleges of Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus can be assessed both internally and externally. Internally, the proliferation of the law colleges contributed significantly to the expansion of the scribal media, the increased textualization and the production and consumption of written texts and records, and the corresponding rise in legal and pragmatic literacy among the middle classes and wider sections of the population, beyond the privileged scholarly elites. Commenting on the rise of legal and pragmatic literacy, and the transformation of the written practices in Egypt, Palestine and Syria under the Mamluks – developments that were inherited by these societies under the Ottomans – Timothy Fittzgerald writes:

> By all indications, the late Mamluk world that the Ottomans would inherit was one soaked in written texts – be they religious, literary, epistolary, governmental, commercial and/or legal. […] Konrad Kirschler has concluded 'the two interrelated developments of textualisation and popularisation thus profoundly transformed cultural practices linked to the production,

> transmission and reception of texts in Egypt and Syria [Palestine included] over the Middle Period, as traders, craftsmen, and others chipped away at the scholarly elite's 'near monopoly' on the written word.… Study of [Ottoman] documents supports the aggregate impression that much was at stake, for many different kinds of people, in the production and consumption of written records. Some have seen in these developments, for Islamic society and others around the world, a rise in 'pragmatic literacy'.
>
> (Fitzgerald 2016: 15)

Rational Islamic Scholasticism, the European Renaissance and Early European Universities

Paris was the first Western city where a college was founded, in 1138 by a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem – then under the Latin crusaders – who apparently had copied the Near Eastern college/madrasa; this Paris college was created by an individual as a 'house of scholars', without receiving a royal charter (Goody 2006: 228). Although the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem flourished under the Ayyubids and, more crucially, the Mamluks, some scholars have argued that the late medieval European universities (Bologna and Paris, amongst others) owed their 'origins' to Arab higher education and the scholastic Islamic madrasas of the Middle Ages (228). The educational law colleges of Palestine and the wider Near East may have influenced, directly and indirectly, the rise of European scholasticism in the late Middle Ages. The skills obtained from the transnational critical scholastic tradition of the Islamic law colleges of Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Egypt throughout classical Islam inspired the late medieval scholastic education of the first colleges and universities in Europe and subsequently the rise of the humanistic Renaissance in the West.

Often, the evolution of the first pre-Renaissance colleges and universities in Europe, which were established in Italy, France, Spain and England between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, is discussed with no reference to the Islamic colleges of advanced education of the Middle Ages. The earliest European colleges were set up for the study of theology, law and medicine. Their origins can be traced to the impact of the law colleges of classical Islam and the European scholastic guilds and rise of scholasticism, which was closely associated with the rise of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholastic education that developed into the earliest modern universities. Interestingly, the Islamic colleges of Palestine, Syria, North Africa and Andalusia (Muslim Spain) contributed indirectly and directly to the rise of European scholasticism and the birth of early universities via ideas imported to Western Europe by Christian Spain, which began expanding southwards at the expense of Muslim Spain in the late eleventh century, and the Latin crusaders in Palestine in the twelfth century. Already in 1085, fourteen years before the Latin crusaders occupied Jerusalem, Muslim Toledo, with its thousands of priceless Arabic manuscripts on science, philosophy and beautiful works of art, fell into the

hands of Alfonso VI, the Christian king of Castile and León. The Islamic madrasas and colleges of Baghdad, Mosul, Damascus, Aleppo and (medieval) Cairo not only

> stiffened Muslim resistance to the Crusaders by helping to rally the faithful… There is evidence that the [post-Crusader] Western [university] college originated from the madrasa.
>
> (Leiser 2006: 457)

The transnational history of Arabic sciences, schooling, arts and music was much in evidence in late medieval Europe. Of course, Islam in Europe, like Judaism and Christianity, is not a foreign religion, Islam and Arabic scholarship having long been established within Europe (Goody 2004, 2012: 25–37). The modern academic robe and graduation gown was the cloak of the late medieval scholar. In *Islam in Europe* (2004) Jack Goody (1919–2015), for many years Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, discusses the central role that classical Islam of the Middle Ages has played in European history and scholarship, and remarks on the academic graduation and ceremonial gowns worn at many universities in the West: the medieval Arabic-style robe of honour, *khilʾa* (pl. *khila*) or *thawb*, has become the most distinctive sign of academic professionalism until the present day, especially during scholastic events such as the debating of university theses and graduation ceremonies (Goody 2004). An account of the standardized (professorial) robe of honour of the medieval advanced Islamic colleges of Cairo and Jerusalem, often bestowed as part of a ceremony of appointment to a scholarly post, is provided by Palestinian scholar and jurist Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani, who was educated in the advanced madrasas of Jerusalem and was subsequently appointed as chief judge (*qadi*) of Egypt. Ibn Hajar describes the ceremonial robe worn by professors and lecturers of the advanced colleges of Mamluk Egypt as *khilʾa* (Sato 2014: 132; see also Mayer 1952) – a robe that bestowed patronage, protection, honour and authority and also symbolized professionalism and intellectual integrity.

Andalusian Islamic sciences and Arabic arts and music were widely shared with late medieval Christian Europe. Take, for instance, the story of the *al-ʿoud* (Arabic: 'wood'), an old Arab musical instrument that was developed further and popularized by Ziryab (Abu l-Hasan ʿAli Ibn Nafiʾ [789–857]) (Gill 2008: 81). The latter was a *lʿoud* player, poet, singer and teacher. Subsequently identified in Christian Iberia for his black complexion, Ziryab was nicknamed in Spanish as *Pájaro Negro* (Blackbird) (Farmer and Neubauer 2012) – something that we would correctly interpret as politically incorrect by our modern anti-racist standards. Revolutionizing Arabic music, Ziryab's career flourished after he had moved from Baghdad to Cordoba and had worked as a musician in the court of ʿAbd al-Rahman II, also known as a patron of the arts. In Cordoba, Ziryab also established a school of music, *Dar al-Madaniyyat* ('college of cultures'), the first school of its kind in Muslim Spain, that trained Arab and non-Arab *lʿoud* players, male and female singers, and musicians. His music school influenced generations of

musicians to come. A freed slave who professionalized and revolutionized Arabic musical literacy by powerfully combining instrumental music with vocal music, Ziryab also trained in his school female slaves and freed slave singers who were regarded as reliable sources for his music repertoire and as contributors to Arabic music in subsequent generations (Davila 2009: 121–36) – perhaps an antecedent to the way African American music hugely influenced the development of, and even revolutionized, modern popular music in the West. Ziryab is said to have improved on the *al-ʿOud*, or *lʿoud*, probably representing an Andalusian Arabic or North African Arabic, by adding a fifth pair of strings. The word *lʿoud* later entered old French (*leut*) and middle French (*lut*) and other European languages, and became known as the *lute*. The *al-Oud* instrument was also borrowed by Iberian Christians and used in church music, and was mentioned in the miniatures of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Canticles of Holy Mary) of Alfonso X – 420 poems with musical notation, written in the medieval Galician-Portuguese language during the reign of Alfonso X of Castile (1221–1284), which have survived in manuscript codices in the Madrid National Library and in Florence. Mary (*Maryam*), the mother of Jesus, holds a singularly exalted place in Islam and in the nineteenth chapter of the Quran, titled 'Mary' (*Surat Maryam*). Miniatures of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* feature a Christian (with white skin) and Muslim (with black skin) playing *lʿouds*.

Arabesque patterns are a form of artistic decoration developed in the Islamic world from the ninth century onwards, and they were linked to Arabic knowledge of mathematics and geometry (Robinson 1996), thought of as both art and science. During the Mamluk period in Palestine, magnificent Quran manuscripts with intricate arabesque illustration, calligraphy and geometric compositions of stars and polygons were often given as *waqf* endowments to law colleges and mosques in Jerusalem (Natsheh 2016: 253). The exquisiteness and complexity of the interior and exterior of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem can be seen in the intricacy of its tiles combined with light reflected through stained-glass windows and rings of Arabic calligraphy and arabesque patterns (Jacobs 1999: 83–4). Of course, under Islam the creative use of Arabic calligraphy and arabesque patterns developed beyond the illustration of Quranic texts into secular topics of literature and secular objects from door handles to tiles, from glass work to household items (Knysh 2016: 324). Arabesque also became a European decorative art form in the Renaissance into the twentieth century. An important use of the arabesque printing style was in artistic printing for book covers and page decoration and bookbinding with leather. Arabesque was imported from the Islamic world, often together with Arab and Muslim artists and craftsmen (Diehi 1980), and much of the leather imported with them. Arabesque popularity was revived by the Arts and Crafts movement in Britain, Europe and the USA between 1880 and 1920, and many fine hardback books published during the period 1890–1960 had arabesque decorations, also on paperback covers.

Furthermore, the Arabic *adab al-qadi* books in classical Islam in the Middle Ages included descriptions of how trials should be conducted in a fitting manner

and explanations of the special robes of honour and distinctive clothing worn by judges and other scholars, which reflected their ranking (Vikør 2005). After the Normans took over Sicily from the Arabs in 1091, they adopted the Arab robe of honour, and Roger II wore Arab robes at court, spoke Arabic, cultivated Arabic arts and Islamic architecture and sciences, and used Arab craftsmen to construct palaces, cathedrals and monasteries (Darke 2020; Goody 2004: 76–7). Modern judges in the West also wear similar judicial robes, a tradition that may also go back to the great scholar-judges of the Islamic law colleges of the Middle Ages.

6 LEGAL PLURALISM AND THE SOCIAL WORLD OF PALESTINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE AZHAR COLLEGE OF CAIRO AND PALESTINIAN MUSLIM SCHOLARS

Like the great Hellenistic academies of Athens, Alexandria, Gaza, Caesarea-Palaestina and Beirut in Roman and Byzantine times, for four centuries the Azhar college (later university), the premier learning institution of Cairo, played a major role in the education of members of leading Palestinian families between the late sixteenth century and the First World War. From the great *mufti* of al-Ramla, Khair al-Din al-Ramli (1585–1671), and of Gaza, Salih ibn Ahmad al-Tumurtashi (d. *c*. 1715), to the 'Mufti of Jerusalem', Muhammad Amin al-Husseini (1897–1974), all studied at the Azhar college. Education in Byzantine and Islam Palestine was always a form of capital formation and for the elite Palestinian social classes (and notable families) – as well as for the urban middle classes – such as the *Husayis*, *Khalidis* and *Budeiris* of Jerusalem, the *Dajanis* of Jaffa, the *Khairis* of al-Ramla, the *Khatibs* of Haifa, the *Fahoums* of Nazareth, the *Tabaris* of Tiberias and the *Jazzars* and *Shuqeiris* of Acre – the Azhar college of Cairo remained the favourite destination for the higher education of their sons (Asali and Hamarinah 1996: 59; Kupferschmidt 1984: 176–89; 1986: 110–23; Peled 2012: 159–60). The same al-Azhar-educated Palestinians held senior positions in Palestine's administration and judiciary in the later Ottoman period and some of the graduates of al-Azhar set up well-known family libraries in Jerusalem. Shaykh As'ad Shuqeiri (1860–1940) of Acre – the father of Ahmad Shuqeiri, the founder of the Palestine Liberation

Organization (PLO) – who studied at al-Azhar in the nineteenth century, was elected to the Ottoman parliament in 1908 and 1912, representing the district of Acre, and held several posts in Palestine's judiciary, including *qadi* from 1914 to 1918.

The Islamic Hanafi school of jurisprudence was popular among the notable families of Palestine and a Palestinian Hanafi scholar, Ahmad al-Tamimi (1801–52), of a leading family of al-Khalil (Hebron), who studied at the Azhar college and achieved a high reputation in Islamic learning, rose to become in 1835 the *Grand Mufti* of Egypt (*Mufti al-Diyar al-Misriyya*) (Cole 1999: 36–7, 322) – a position that was created by Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali in the same year and which was designed to gain the loyalty of the population of Palestine and Syria. Muhammad al-Tamimi's son, Ahmad Muhammad al-Tamimi (1835–1924), who authored the first modern Palestinian novel (*Umm Hakim*) in the late nineteenth century (ʿAnqawi 2015), wrote in 1888 an account of his father's life entitled *Tarjamat al-ʿAllamah Ahmad al-Tamimi al-Khalili Mufti Misr*; the manuscript is now kept in the Egyptian National Library (*Dar al-Kutub*) in Cairo.[1] These leading urban families provided a literate class and strata of educated local officials and administrators, and even some intellectuals, in a predominantly aural/oral culture and an overwhelmingly peasant society. In the seventeenth (and early eighteenth) century the two leading Hanafi scholars, intellectuals, jurists and *muftis* in Palestine were the Azhar-educated[2] Tumurtashi, of Gaza, and al-Ramli, of al-Ramla, although neither was an officially appointed *mufti* by the Ottoman authorities.[3]

The Azhar college, Egypt's oldest degree-granting higher learning institution (now university) and one of the first university colleges in the world, is renowned as Sunni Islam's top university. It was founded in the tenth century (by the Shiʾite Fatimids and converted into Sunnism under the Ayyubids) as an advanced school of Islamic learning and gradually began to draw students from the whole Islamic world. Its students were taught the Quran and Islamic law along with Aristotelian logic based on the rational scholarly tradition, Arabic grammar, rhetoric and arithmetic. Also reminiscent of medieval European university colleges of the late Middle Ages and early modern period, which evolved from Christian cathedral and monastic schools, in its early centuries the distinction between the Azhar as a mosque and the Azhar as a college was not sharp.

While under the Mamluks the scholastic law colleges of Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus were the key repositories of Arabic learning and scholarship in the central Arab lands, after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, Syria and Palestine the stature of al-Azhar in Egypt was elevated at the expense of these colleges, and by the mid-seventeenth century the Azhar college had become the prime repository of Islamic scholarship in the Arab Near East (Petry 2002: 109–10) – an advanced higher education institution firmly identified with the Sunni *ʿUlama* establishment. In the early eighteenth century the student population of al-Azhar (both Egyptian and foreign) was between four and five thousand students, taught

by about seventy professors (shaykhs), in addition to assistants and instructors (Winter 2005: 116). By 1871–72 the number of teachers employed by al-Azhar had trebled, reaching 314, while the number of students had doubled to 9,423 – both teachers and students belonged to the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence (from the highest proportion to the lowest): Shafiʾi, Maliki, Hanafi and Hanbali (Cole 1999: 36–8).

The Azhar college also developed an extensive system of hostels to house and accommodate the influx of foreign male students – a formal system that organized students from abroad into *arwiqa* (residential halls), or 'nations' (with students from the same country or region living in a community and sharing the same house). This was also designed to make it easy for students to choose professors, classes, a devotional schedule and living quarters (Petry 2002: 111; Winter 2005:116).

However, academically, unlike the academically structured scholastic *fiqh* colleges of Al-Quds under the Mamluks or the imperial Ottoman state madrasa system, which was much more regulated and hierarchical, the teaching at the Azhar college was highly individualized and less rigid or structured, In fact, before the 'modern reforms' of the late nineteenth century, the institution did not have any admission requirements or prescribed courses of study. Students of mixed ages freely chose their own professors and courses and proceeded at their own pace of learning without formal examinations or grades (Reid 2002: 12; Winter 2005: 116). A shaykh rose to professorship at the Azhar college by his colleagues' consensus, although a formal confirmation by the Egyptian authorities was required. At the end of the process students obtained diplomas (*ijazas*) – a document that (like the diplomas provided by the law colleges of Jerusalem) specified the texts studied under specifically named professors – which allowed graduates of the Azhar college to teach in an elementary madrasa (Winter 2005: 116).

The introduction of secular education in the late Ottoman period – beginning with *Dar al-ʿUlum*, a teachers' training college founded in 1871 and subsequently in 1908 incorporated into the Egyptian University, now known as Cairo University – had a major impact on both the Azhar college in Cairo and Palestinian students attending the college. After attending the Azhar college, Hajj Amin al-Husseini went on to train (shortly before the First World War) at the military academy in Istanbul, while fellow Palestinian Mahmoud Taher Saʾid al-Tabari (born in Tiberias in 1897), after receiving his education at the Azhar college and graduating at the age of seventeen, went on to study for an additional four years at the modern University of Istanbul.[4] In the late nineteenth century Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905), a leading Egyptian Islamic jurist, one of the seminal theorists of the Arab renaissance, a teacher of logic, theology and ethics at the Azhar college and a *Grand Mufti* of Egypt (1899–2005), sought to 'reform' the curriculum and methods of the college, to free Islamic thought from the shackles to *taqlid* and conformity, promote independent reasoning, and introduce new secular subjects and scientific education (Voll 1994: 183). Today many additional secular subjects are studied in

the curriculum of the Azhar University. In memory of the extraordinary influence of al-Azhar on the education of many Palestinians, in 1991 the Azhar University of Gaza was established by PLO leader Yasser Arafat (1929–2004) – who studied at what is now known as Cairo University – as a public higher educational institution in the Gaza Strip. Today the curriculum of the Azhar University of Gaza is predominantly secular: its faculties include Law, Education, Sharia, Pharmacy, Agriculture and Environment, Sciences, Applied Medical Sciences, Dentistry, Arts and Human Sciences, Economics and Administrative Sciences, Engineering and Information Technology.

Moreover, for four centuries during the Ottoman rule the urban elite families of Palestine, whose sons were educated at the Azhar in Cairo, held senior positions in Palestinian society, including as *muhtasibs*, *mutasallims*, *muftis*, *qadis*, *naqib al-ashraf* and *hasibkatib* of sharia courts. In particular, the *muftis* of Ottoman Palestine played an extraordinary role in public life. While throughout much of the Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman periods (1187–1705), the 'scholar-chief judge' (*qadi-ʿalim*) in Jerusalem served both as chief judge and headmaster for the leading law college in the city, from the eighteenth century onwards the *mufti* would emerge as a pre-eminent religious leader in the city. The *judge-scholar-lecturer* and head of *madrasa* in medieval Jerusalem (under the Mamluks) (discussed in Chapter 5) and *mufti* (under the Ottomans) of Jerusalem play different roles in the evolution of advanced Islamic education. The Ottomans organized *muftis* into a hierarchical state bureaucracy with a chief *mufti* of the empire called *shaykh al-Islam* at the top. The Ottoman *shaykh al-Islam* – a title the Ottomans inherited from the Mamluk era and that was designed for a senior scholar who also served as a chief judge – was among the most powerful state officials (Messick and Kéchichian 2009), who supervised a hierarchy of state-appointed *muftis* and judges applying Islamic jurisprudence. Over time the Sunni *muftis* of Palestine were incorporated into hierarchical state bureaucracies and were expected to support Ottoman government policies. The institution of the *mufti* of Jerusalem as the top Muslim religious authority in Palestine also continued during the British Mandatory period, until 1918 when the British military authorities in Jerusalem upgraded the Ottoman tradition by creating the new post of *Grand Mufti* of Jerusalem, a title that had been modelled on the (national) *Grand Mufti* of Egypt (Porath 1971: 125–8). In 1921 after Kamil al-Husseini died, the British appointed Muhammad Amin al-Husseini as the head of the Supreme Muslim Council and the *Grand Mufti* of Jerusalem. After 1993 the Palestinian Authority followed the same tradition of appointing a *Grand Mufti* for the city.

The *muftis* of Palestine (and neighbouring countries) were among the best-educated religious scholars and jurists of their time; they studied for several years at a premier study centre such as the Azhar college and completed a lengthy curriculum in linguistic and religious sciences to obtain a diploma (*ijaza*) (Vikør 2005: 144). Evolving across centuries in Islamic legal theory, the *mufti* institution centred on the Islamic jurists and scholars who were qualified to issue nonbinding

legal opinion (*fatwas*) on a point of Islamic law (sharia) (Nanji 2009: 92–3) and to advise courts of law on finer points of Islamic law, in response to queries from judges. The *muftis* and their legal opinions played an important role throughout Islamic history, and in the history of Palestine took on new roles in the modern era. Their legal opinions influenced the evolution of the traditional legal theory of Islam and the law schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*madhabs*) (Nanji 2009: 92–3; Swartz 2009). In modern times *muftis* also issued public and political *fatwas* that took a stand on doctrinal controversies, legitimized government policies or articulated popular grievances of the population, which mobilized popular resistance to foreign domination (Dallal and Hendrickson 2009: 13–17; Messick and Kéchichian 2009). Officially appointed *muftis* and their institutions received financial support from the public treasury *waqf* endowments.

In contrast to the carefully controlled and regulated Ottoman state bureaucracy and the hierarchical power-based tradition of *muftis*, and under the influence of the less structured education of al-Azhar, Khair al-Din al-Ramli's legal education and judicial career in Palestine challenged two things:

1. A hierarchical model of Islamic scholarship and religious authority. To begin with, he was not trained by Ottoman state schools but by the leading Muslim academy of Egypt, al-Azhar, then a cornerstone of scholarly life in the Islamic and Arabic-speaking world and an institution whose rectors often struggled for autonomy from the imperial Ottoman state system of public education.
2. That Islamic law and legal education did not suffer from rigid structures and uniformity and continued to develop pluralistically.

One of the most important sources for late Mamluk and Ottoman Palestine are the sharia court records of al-Quds and other key Palestinian cities. Today the Palestinian *Sijill* records of the Sharia Court of Jerusalem (and of Acre, Jaffa and Nazareth) do not function as an archive in the conventional sense of the word; the *Sijill* records are located within a -functioning court of law (Zeʾevi 1996: XI) and they provide a living history of Islamic Jerusalem and its district. The *Sijill* documents provide us with an invaluable wealth of information (past and present) and learning about the law administration, judiciary, legal scholarship, economy, social relations, religious elites, land ownership and administration, *waqf* administration, topography and toponymy of Ottoman Palestine (1516–1917).

The second most important sources for this period are the Islamic *Fadaʾil al-Quds* (Merits of Jerusalem) literature and the writings of the leading Palestinian Islamic scholars and jurists, including Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi (*c.* 1495), Khair al-Din al-Ramli (1585–1671) and Salih ibn Ahmad al-Tumurtashi in the late sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Khair al-Din al-Ramli, of al-Ramla (Filastin), and another Palestinian Muslim compatriot and writer in the seventeenth century, Salih ibn Ahmad al-Tumurtashi (d. *c.* 1715), the mufti of Gaza (in Filastin), give us a multilayered dimension of Palestinian identity at the time. Both al-Ramli

and al-Tumurtashi benefited from the autonomous Arabic traditions of learning and higher education in the Arab Near East during the early Ottoman period, which was characterized by two distinct forms of advanced education: (1) imperial Ottoman state madrasas; and (2) autonomous higher educational colleges and madrasas (such as the Islamic fiqh colleges in Jerusalem and the Azhar college in Cairo). Furthermore, both al-Ramli and al-Tumurtashi were taught by prominent scholars of the Azhar college, then headed by the Mufti of Egypt, and both became senior Muftis and leading Hanafi Islamic scholars in Palestine (Burak 2015: 191–4). Founded in 970 or 972 as one of many centres of Islamic learning, the Azhar college was one of the first universities in the world, and one of the few in the Arab world to survive as a modern university including secular subjects in the curriculum. By the seventeenth century, when al-Ramli and al-Tumurtashi studied at al-Azhar, the college had replaced the medieval law colleges of Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cairo and Damascus to become the leading centre of Islamic learning and scholarship, and a centre that trained many Palestinians in Islamic jurisprudence and Quranic studies, along with Arabic grammar and literature, logic, rhetoric and philosophy. After graduating from the Azhar, al-Ramli resided in the Palestinian city of Gaza before settling in his hometown of al-Ramla (Burak 2015: 153).

In view of the fact that the polity of Filastin was preserved in the legal tradition and social memory and works of two leading Palestinian Muslim scholars and jurists, Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi around 1495 and Khair al-Din al-Ramli in the seventeenth century, it is hardly surprising that the archives of the Islamic Sharia Court of Jerusalem in the eighteenth century also show that the terms *Filastin, ard Filastin* ('land of Palestine') and *ahl Filastin* (the 'people of Palestine') – with specific reference to the cities of al-Ramla, Lydda, Jaffa, al-Quds, al-Khalil (Hebron) and Gaza, and within the wider geographical region al-Sham – remained very much alive in local and regional Palestinian Muslim social memory throughout the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

Al-Tumurtashi wrote an Islamic Merits of Jerusalem work during the middle Ottoman period entitled *Al-Khabar al-Tam for Dhikr al-Ard al-Muqaddasah wa-Hududiha wa-Dhikr Ard Filastin wa-Hududiha wa-Sham* (The Complete Knowledge in Remembering the Holy Land and its Boundaries and Remembering the Land of Palestine and its Boundaries and al-Sham) (al-Tumurtashi 1695–1696; al-Turk 1998; Anabsi 1992; Gerber 2008: 50–1). Al-Tumurtashi uses the terms *Filastin, ard Filastin*, *ahl Filastin*, *hudud Filastin* (the boundaries or borders of Palestine) and *dhikr Filastin* (memory of Palestine) to describe his own country. Al-Tumurtashi does not create new knowledge on Palestine. In his manuscript – of which four copies based on the original manuscript have survived, including two at the Centre for the Revival of Islamic Heritage in Abu Dis (Jerusalem) and one at the Suleymaniye Library in Istanbul (al-Turk 1998: 2–4) – he reproduces local eleventh-century Palestinian geography from the available eighteenth-century knowledge and social memories of Arab Islamic Filastin. In the late seventeenth century al-Tumurtashi uses a fifteenth-century work by another Palestinian author,

Mujir al-Din's *Al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wal-Khalil*, in his reconstruction of the boundaries of Filastin, which, according to him and Mujir al-Din, extended from al-ʿArish/Rafah in the south to al-Lajjun (in Marj Ibn ʿAmer) in the north. All this demonstrates is that the social, administrative and geographic memories of Palestine among indigenous Palestinians were very much alive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the fifteenth to the seventeenth century among local Palestinians these centuries of lived and living memories of Islamic Filastin would be far more powerful than the historical memories of Islamic Spain (al-Andalus) among Arabs and Muslims today. These lived memories also show that the term *al-Sham* did not displace the indigenous, deeply rooted idea of Filastin throughout the Ottoman period. In fact, the two geographical terms coexisted in indigenous Palestinian social and cultural memories, and, for practical purposes, complemented each other.

Palestine's strong urban tradition of Arab Islamic jurisprudence and the roots of the modern social, cultural and geographic consciousness of Filastin as a distinct polity and 'regional territorially based identity' can be traced to the works of Khair al-Din al-Ramli (1585–1671), one of the most extraordinary Palestinian jurists of all time and an important seventeenth-century Islamic jurist, public intellectual and writer in Ottoman Palestine (Gerber 1998b; Tucker 2002). Al-Ramli was a native of al-Ramla, and he was named after the town which was for centuries the administrative secular capital of the province of Jund Filastin and a major garrison town in Ottoman Palestine. Al-Ramli was a landowner and farmer in seventeenth-century Palestine, and his descendants, the Khairis, remained wealthy farmers and leading figures in the town for nearly three centuries until the 1948 Nakba. During the British Mandatory period (1918–48), Mustafa Khairi served for four years as *qadi* and as a long-time mayor of al-Ramla, and his family owned the only cinema in the town.

Khair al-Din al-Ramli was not a graduate of the imperial (hierarchical) Ottoman madrasa system and was never officially appointed as Mufti by the Ottoman authorities; he was a product of autonomous Arab traditions of learning and scholarship that flourished 'from below'. His scholarly reputation and leading legal position in Palestine had nothing to do with official patronage and his scholarly achievements were the outcome of autonomous Arab traditions of learning that had evolved across several centuries. According to Guy Burak:

> al-Ramli should not be taken as a representative of the [Ottoman imperial] textual traditions of the Arab lands in general. Instead, he seems to be representative of a particular, local tradition [of learning], one of several that existed throughout the [Ottoman] empire's Arab provinces.
>
> (Burak 2015: 153)

The calibre and fame of al-Tumurtashi and al-Ramli attracted a large number of students from Palestine, Syria, Arabia and even from the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. In addition to his son Salih, al-Tumurtashi's anonymous biographer provides a long list of students from Gaza and Jerusalem; other sources

indicate Damascenes also studied with al-Tumurtashi (Burak 2015: 195). The long list of al-Ramli's students includes:

> *mawali* [jurists who were affiliated with the Ottoman learned hierarchy], prominent *ʿulema* [*al-ʿUlema al-Kibar*], muftis, teachers [*mudarrisun*], and compilers of texts [*ashab al-taʾalif wal-mashahirs*]. Moreover, his students came from Jerusalem, Gaza, Damascus, Mecca, and Medina. He also had some students from the central lands of the empire, such as Mustafa Pasa, the son of the grand vezir [*sic*] Mehmet Köprülü,[5] who asked al-Ramli to grant him a permit to transmit religious knowledge [*ijaza*] for his brother, the grand vezir, Ahmet Köprülü (d. 1673).
>
> (Burak 2015: 195)

Al-Ramli routinely mixed with the Palestinian peasantry, the majority population in Palestine, and he knew their social world intimately; his jurisprudence was highly relevant to agrarian relations in Palestine, family *waqf* and landownership in the country. Al-Ramli himself was highly critical of charlatan rural preachers and prayer-leaders who used their mediocre 'learning to mislead and exploit the peasants' (Grehan 2014: 46). His seventeenth-century collection of *fatwas* (religious edicts), known as *al-Fatawa al-Khairiyyah* – compiled into final form in eighteenth-century Palestine – became highly influential in understanding the social world of the Palestinian peasantry, agrarian relations in the country and the Sunni Hanafi school of jurisprudence – which was popular among the Palestine urban elite families and the Muslim religious establishment in the country – not only in Palestine but throughout the Arab region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Islahi 2008). Filastin itself had developed a pluralistic and diverse tradition of Islamic jurisprudence, and one of the founders of the four Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*madhhabs*), Imam al-Shafiʾi (AD 767–820), was born in Gaza (Haddad 2007: 189–90, 193). A brilliant Palestinian jurist, al-Shafiʾi was known to have been authorized to issue *fatwas* at a very young age. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Islamic legal pluralism was institionalized during the Mamluk period (1260–1517) and became central to the golden age of the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem throughout the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. This Islamic scholarly and legal pluralism in Palestine can also be seen in the fact that during the Mamluk period the teachers of the Tankiziyya College in Jerusalem belonged to both Hanafi and Shafiʾi schools of jurisprudence; the other two schools of Islamic jurisprudence (Maliki and Hanbali) were also fully legitimized under both the Ayyubids and Mamluks and often the appointment of Muslim *qadis* (judges) belonging to the four schools was institutionalized by the state (Hijih and al-Tel 2015: 94–5). Al-Ramli (a Hanafi scholar) himself understood and endorsed this fiqh pluralism and the fact the *qadis/scholars* of the different schools of Islamic jurisprudence, through case-by-case decisions, played an important part in maintaining the diversity and practices of the Islamic law. Al-Ramli supported the right of people to choose between the rulings of either Hanafi

or Shafiʾi *qadis*. This flexible approach gave women in Palestine, in particular, some options in the cases of marriage, divorce and maintenance; for instance, they could seek a marriage annulment from a Shafiʾi judge and then a remarriage on their own (without a male guardian) with a Hanafi judge, a form of legal pluralism that worked in women's favour (Tucker 1998).

The works of Khair al-Din al-Ramli were subsequently collected and disseminated widely by his son, Najm al-Din al-Ramli (1656–1701), also a Hanafi scholar, author and educator who, following in the footsteps of his father, continued to issue Islamic educational certificates (*ijazah*) to his students. *Al-Fatawa al-Khairiyyah* may also explain the continuation of the popularity of the name 'Palestine' among other educated natives of al-Ramla in the eighteenth century; this use includes the monthly diary of a Palestinian Christian priest Yusuf Jahshan, a native of the city, entitled *al-Ramla and Gaza* ('Chronicles of Palestine'; 'Waqaʾiʾ Filastin: al-Ramla wa-Ghazza'), dating to 1769. Jahshan – whose educated family members played an important role in the local administration of the twin towns of Lydda and al-Ramla and the district of Jaffa and Gaza in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – also repeatedly uses the name 'Palestine' throughout his diary and describes the day-to-day social life and economic conditions in the cities of al-Ramla and Gaza and their surroundings, including agricultural produce, local prices, weather conditions, locust attacks and famine.[6]

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Palestine al-Ramli's *al-Fatawa al-Khairiyyah* had major practical dimensions and offers a contemporary record of the period, giving a complex view of agrarian relations in Palestine, as al-Ramli was a jurist, farmer and landowner. Al-Ramli is known to have amassed a big library. He also imported a variety of seeds from Egypt and introduced them to the district of al-Ramla (Islahi 2008). His terminology and *al-Fatawa al-Khairiyyah* would also have been known to the administrators of the Sharia Courts in Jerusalem in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The way Khair al-Din al-Ramli, Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi and other leading Palestinian Muslim jurists and writers used the term Filastin to refer to the 'country' as Palestine, or to 'our country' (*biladuna*), in the fifteenth to the seventeenth century suggests that the territorial notion of Palestine was still very much alive in Palestinian Muslim social and cultural memory throughout the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. This also contradicts the unfounded claim that the term Palestine 'had been entirely forgotten by local Arabs, and that it was brought back to them by Arab Christians in touch with Europe' (Krämer 2011: 16). Several scholars have used the works of Mujir al-Din and al-Ramli to trace the pre-modern roots of the emergence of embryonic Palestinian social and territorial consciousness (for instance, Gerber 1998a, 2008: 50–1; Tucker 2002). In *Remembering and Imagining Palestine*: *Identity and Nationalism from the Crusades to the Present*, Haim Gerber explains:

> The term 'Palestine' appears later as well. The next writer to use the name… lived two and half centuries after Mujir al-Din, an independent mufti and legal

> scholar in al-Ramla in the seventeenth century, who left for posterity a most important collection of *fatwas* (Islamic legal discussions of questions posed by members of the public). A *fatwa* is a public document, to be read and used (sometimes in courts) by all sorts of people, probably literate, and it is my understanding that the language employed could not have been invented by the mufti. Nor was Khyar al-Din al-Ramli an obscure personality. Quite the reverse: all legal jurists from Syria and Palestine after the seventeenth century used this material intensively and unquestionably knew every *fatwa* in it inside out. All this information becomes important if we bear in mind that on several occasions Khayr al-Din al-Ramli calls the country he was living in Palestine, and unquestionably assumes that his readers do likewise. What is even more remarkable is his use of the term 'the country' and even 'our country' (*biladuna*) possibly meaning that he had in mind some sort of a loose community focused around that term.
>
> (Gerber 2008: 50; see also Gerber 1998a)

The term Palestine (Arabic: *Filastin*) is found in the records of the Islamic Sharia Court of Jerusalem in the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century both al-Ramli, of al-Ramla, and al-Tumurtashi, of Gaza, called the country where they were living Filastin and unquestionably assumed that their readers would do likewise. What is even more remarkable is al-Ramli's use of the term 'the country' and even 'our country' (*biladuna*), which is exactly how Palestinians today describe Palestine.

7 THE 'AZHAR' OF PALESTINE: THE AHMADIYYA SEMINARY OF ACRE (1782–1948)

The founding of the Islamic Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre in the eighteenth century, together with the advent of early modernities in Palestine, was incredibly important in keeping the tradition of higher learning in Palestine alive, especially following the sharp decline of the higher education law colleges of Jerusalem. Early modernity in Palestine began in the eighteenth century, with the emergence of a new Palestine-based autonomous rule under both Dhaher al-ʿUmar (1689–1775) and later Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar (1720–1804), a major development in Palestine that brought about the establishment of the Ahmadiyya seminary of modern Acre (together with the city of Nablus, the two most developed and prosperous cities of Palestine at that time). Some of the students of the Ahmadiyya seminary were graduates of the Kuttab schools. First under al-ʿUmar and later under al-Jazzar – the Acre-based ruler from 1776 until his death in 1804:

> [Modern] Acre was the key to the first region in the eastern Mediterranean that was tied into modern economy… an important fortified city of perhaps 25,000 inhabitants [which] was closely connected with the ever-rising demand for cotton in Europe.
>
> (Philipp 2001: 1)

With the impact of international trade during the rule of both al-ʿUmar and al-Jazzar:

> Within a very short period of time, [modern] Acre bloomed into a city possessing several mosques… caravansaries… [public] baths and markets. It also boasted fortified walls and an aqueduct to ensure its water supply. The [Galilee] villages further inland developed most of what was to become the basis of Palestine's agricultural economy.
>
> (Rosen-Ayalon 1998: 520)

Of early modern creation, and perhaps the most monumental symbol of the culture of early modern Palestine, the White Mosque of modern Acre, famously known as al-Jazzar Mosque, became the most powerful symbol of the modern capital of northern Palestine. Constructed in 1781 and backed by the al-Jazzar *waqf* established by the Ottoman governor Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar in 1784, eighteen years before the Napoleonic invasion of Palestine, and influenced architecturally by the grand Ottoman mosques of Istanbul, its name evoked memories of the famous White Mosque of al-Ramla, the capital of *Jund Filastin*, the province of Palestine throughout early Islam. One of the finest surviving mosques in Palestine, and spectacularly overlooking the eastern Mediterranean Sea, in the eighteenth century al-Jazzar mosque (and college) was also a statement of the reorientation of modern Palestine towards Europe under the impact of the international trade policies and the monumental building programmes pursued by the two powerful leaders, al-ʿUmar and al-Jazzar. The compound of the White Mosque included an Islamic theological college, the first advanced educational college of its kind in early modern Palestine.

Palestinian author Mustafa Murad al-Dabbagh, the author of an eleven-volume work of reference on the history and geography of Palestine (Dabbagh 1965), observed that for many decades, from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, the Islamic Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre was for Palestine what the Azhar college was for Egypt. Although not as famous or internationally influential as the Azhar college of Cairo, the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre was founded in 1781, at a time when members of the Palestinian urban elites (some of whom began their education at the Ahamadiyya seminary during the late Ottoman period) went on to continue their higher education at the Azhar college of Egypt. Inspired by some of the famous medieval Islamic fiqh (law) madrasas of Jerusalem and of classical Islam, the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre was modelled, in many ways, on the great al-Azhar college in Cairo, then the greatest centre of Islamic sciences in the world, a centre which is also closely linked with the great al-Azhar Mosque of Cairo. Furthermore, the heads and teachers of the Ahmadiyya seminary were often graduates of the al-Azhar college (al-Marʾashli 2008: 1224; Shibl and Buri 1994). In fact, for much of the history of the Ahmadiyya seminary in Acre its aim was to educate, prepare and enable members of Palestinian urban notable classes to complete their higher learning at the prestigious Azhar college in Cairo and then to return to Palestine to assume senior positions in the legal and administrative life of the country. In the late Ottoman period, key members of urban upper- and middle-class families educated at the Ahmadiyya seminary and al-Azhar college would also play a significant role in bringing together (judicially speaking and through their service in senior positions in Sharia Courts across urban Palestine) the three administrative units created in the Ottoman reorganization of Palestine in the early 1870s: the autonomous administrative Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem (Kudüs-i Şerif Mutasarrıflığı; the 'Mutasarrifate of Noble Jerusalem') and the two other Ottoman sanjaks of Palestine, the Sanjaks of Acre and Nablus.

Although never developing into a fully fledged higher education institution, in the late Ottoman period students from the elite Palestinian families of northern Palestine completing their secondary education at the Ahmadiyya seminary went on to complete their higher education at al-Azhar college in Cairo (Peled 2012: 159–60) and then returned to Palestine to occupy senior administrative and legal positions in various Palestinian cities. Also, many of the brightest students of the Ahmadiyya seminary of middle-class background went on to study at al-Azhar college in Cairo and then returned to Palestine to pursue professional teaching and legal careers; some also became highly influential in the political, social and religious life of Palestine and beyond. The careers of both Shaykh Asʾad Shuqeiri (1860–1940) and Shaykh Muhammad Subhi Khayzaran (1895–1968) were a case in point.

Asʾad Shuqeiri was a Palestinian religious and political leader in Acre, a sharia law scholar in Palestine and the father of Ahmad Shuqeiri, the founder of the PLO in 1964. After completing his secondary studies at the Ahmadiyya seminary, he went on to complete his higher learning at the Azhar college in Cairo. After returning to Palestine he took up a teaching position at the Ahmadiyya seminary and was later appointed by the Ottoman authorities as *Grand Mufti* of Jerusalem from 1914 to 1918; in 1908 and 1912 he was also elected to the Ottoman parliament, representing the Sanjak of Acre. Afterwards, he held several posts in Palestine's religious judiciary; he also served as librarian of the Imperial Library and member of the Sharia Court in Istanbul. During the First World War he was appointed *mufti* of the Fourth Ottoman Army in Syria and Palestine.

Muhammad Subhi Khayzaran was born in Acre in the late Ottoman period and educated at the Ahmadiyya seminary; he studied for several years at al-Azhar college and obtained diplomas (*ijazas*) from a number of its professors; he then returned to Acre to teach at the Ahmadiyya seminary; he was subsequently appointed by the Ottoman authorities as a senior chief teacher in the late Ottoman Sanjak of Acre; during the Mandatory period he was appointed as chief secretary of the Sharia Court of Acre and then in 1929 as the *qadi* of the Haifa Sharia Court; he subsequently served as *qadi* of Sharia Courts in Safad, Tiberias, Tulkarm, al-Khalil (Hebron) and eventually as a member of the Appeal Sharia Court in Jerusalem; in 1938, he was removed from his senior position following his support for the Palestinian uprising, of 1935–39; eventually he was driven to emigrate to Damascus and was appointed as Professor in the Sharia Faculty at Damascus University (al-Marʾashli 2008: 1224).

Also, during the Mandatory period some members of the Palestinian Muslim urban elites continued the same tradition of completing their higher education at the Azhar University in Egypt, following their secondary schooling at the Ahmadiyya seminary. Palestinian national figure Muhammad Nimr al-Khatib, the head of the Higher Arab Committee in Haifa in 1947–48, studied at the Ahmadiyya seminary, then went on to complete his higher education at the Azhar University in Cairo. The Khatib family held the *mufti*-ship of Haifa during the late Ottoman

period and through the Mandatory period (Kupferschmidt 1987). In the post-Nakba period, al-Khatib, who published his book *Some of the Consequences of the Catastrophe* (1951), went on to teach, *inter alia*, Islamic sciences at the Faculty of Sharia and Arts in Baghdad.

However, the supreme historical importance of the Ahmadiyya seminary lies beyond its secondary level of education. With the sharp decline of the endowed and even cessation of the medieval Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem, as has been shown in Chapter 5, educated Palestinians depended heavily on higher education abroad (al-Azhar college); the Ahmadiyya seminary/mosque of Acre kept a touch of higher education in Palestine alive, especially in the period between the late eighteenth century and the late 1870s, at a time when local higher education in Palestine was at a low ebb. Crucially, the important collections and current overwhelmingly Arabic manuscript collection at the library of the Ahmadiyya seminary/al-Jazzar Mosque – listed under the British Library's Endangered Archive Programme – which spans several centuries from the 'Golden Age' of the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem in the fourteenth century to the end of the Ottoman period in Palestine, relate to aspects of the Islamic fiqh, the Arabic language and literature, logic, mathematics (*hisab*) and Sufi practical wisdom (Galli 2001: 113; British Library n.d.), and give us a good idea about the content of the curriculum taught at the Ahmadiyya seminary – a curriculum that was not fundamentally different from those of the higher learning colleges of Mamluk Jerusalem.

However, in effect, the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre both echoed and departed from the curricula of the more diverse medieval Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem. More specifically, the endowment (*waqf*)-based religious seminary of Acre trained Muslim clergy (*imams*) and (later) provided training for teachers of religious education and Arabic for the elementary schools of Palestine. The compound of the seminary contained several rooms for clerical staff, a major public library, some fifteen residential rooms for about thirty boarding students (ʿAbdel-Munʾim 2005; Ghanayim 1999; Sharab 2006), an Islamic court, a hostel for pilgrims and offices for the local *waqf*, which were all paid for by the bequest, Palestinian local taxes and the flourishing regional and international trade in cotton and other cash crops Palestine exported via the port city of Acre to Europe. Today the beautiful al-Jazzar mosque and compound are a powerful focus for the Muslim communities of Acre and Galilee.

Under Islam in Palestine (as in other Muslim-majority countries) great mosques (such as al-Aqsa in Jerusalem, al-Jazzar in Acre and the great mosque in Gaza) were always important centres of Arabic and religious learning and possessed important Islamic libraries. The same phenomenon can also be found in the great mosque of Jaffa (al-Mahmoudiyya Mosque), which was renovated and expanded by the Ottoman governor of Jaffa and Gaza, Muhammad Abu Nabbut, in 1812 (Kanaʿan 1998), with a major Arabic library attached to it.

Apart from the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre, indigenous Islamic (mosque/madrasa) learning in Palestine experienced revivalism, with the support of the

Ottoman authorities, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Sayyid Hashim Mosque (*Masjid al-Sayyid Hashim*), one of the largest and oldest mosques in Gaza, is a case in point. The mosque and its *ribat* (a hostel frequented by traders and travelling Sufi teachers and scholars from Egypt, Syria, Arabia and North Africa) have existed at the present site since the twelfth century. The mosque was destroyed by the invading Napoleonic army in 1799 (which failed to conquer the heavily fortified city of Acre or damage its famous mosque and seminary) and rebuilt in 1850 with an adjoining madrasa, which became a significant centre for literacy and religious learning in southern Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

In late Ottoman Palestine, education in Acre expanded significantly; the city boasted six elementary schools, including one Greek Orthodox school for girls (Dabbagh 1965). During the same period the town of Nazareth, benefiting from the influx of foreign-funded community schools and seminaries, replaced Acre as the educational capital of Galilee. Despite the relative decline of Islamic *waqf*-endowed schools in late Ottoman Palestine, which led to the cessation of many of the Islamic law colleges of Jerusalem, the Ahmadiyya seminary continued into the Mandatory period (1918–48) as an important centre for training Muslim *imams*, *qadis* (religious judges) and Quranic teachers for elementary schools. The Acre college was then financially maintained by the Supreme Muslim Council, the highest body in charge of Muslim affairs in Mandatory Palestine (Tibawi [1956] 1972). Also, very important library collections were maintained at al-Ahmadiyya seminary/al-Jazzar Mosque of Acre (Galli 2016: 113; Philipp 1992: 125). During the Mandatory period, the Acre seminary remained an important centre of Islamic studies as well as a school for training Muslim clergy in Palestine (al-Lubani 2014: 99; Torstrick 2000: 90). In addition, during the same period the city boasted several primary schools for boys and one primary school for girls. The city also had two important secondary schools: the bilingual (Arabic-Italian) co-educational School of Terra Sancta and the state Secondary School – a school in which two well-known scholars of the American University of Beirut had taught during the Mandatory period: historian Dr Nicola Ziadah, who taught between 1925 and 1935, and mathematics scholar Dr Amin Muwafi, who taught between 1942 and 1944 (al-Lubani 2014: 98).

Despite its extraordinary historic contribution to education in Palestine, teaching at the Ahmadiyya seminary ceased during the 1948 Nakba. Under the UN Partition Plan of November 1947, Acre was included in the prospective Arab State; nonetheless, the city was occupied by Israel in May 1948. The 1948 Nakba had a devastating impact on Acre: only 3,000 out of the 15,000 Palestinians remained in the city. Today there are roughly 48,000 residents in Acre, with 32 per cent of the population being Palestinian Arab. In the post-Nakba period, Israel, using a variety of administrative and judicial measures combined with patronage politics, partly inherited from the British colonial administration, moved quickly to consolidate, normalize and legitimize its military occupation of 78 per cent of

Mandatory Palestine. After 1948, five of the seven *qadis* who were appointed to Islamic Sharia Courts in Israel (including Musa al-Tabari, Mahmoud Taher al-Tabari, Hasan Amin al-Habash and Taher Hamad), who were born in the late Ottoman period, were graduates of the Azhar college/university; some of these *qadis* had also completed their secondary studies at the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre (Peled 2012: 159; Reiter 1997: 208). However, in the 1950s the Israeli government rejected the repeated requests by the Arab citizens that an Islamic seminary to train Muslim *qadis* (religious judges) in Israel be revived and that the Ahmadiyya seminary be re-established in the same historic compound of the al-Jazzar Mosque (Dumper 1994: 37–8).

Paradoxically, however, while during the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods members of Islamically educated urban families in Palestine, who were educated at the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre and the Azhar college in Cairo, contributed, through their senior positions in the Sharia Courts of Palestine, to the bringing together of the urban centres of Palestine in the three late Ottoman administrative provinces of the country – Jerusalem, Acre and Nablus. In the post-Nakba period, some of the individuals from the same Islamic educational background were bringing together survivors and social fragments of the Palestinian Nakba within Israel, and thus contributing, perhaps inadvertently, from the mid-1950s onwards, to the gradual creation of a distinct Palestinian Arab identity within the Green Line.

8 MODERNITY, THE PRINTING PRESS AND MASS LITERACY: THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION OF LATE OTTOMAN PALESTINE AND THE MANDATORY PERIOD (1860S–1948)

In 1914 the Ottoman authorities calculated the total population of Palestine at 689,275 (Luke and Roach 1930: 39). The spread of modern literacy among many sections of the population (especially in urban Palestine) began in the second half of the nineteenth century, and this process accelerated during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The late Ottoman period (especially from the 1860s to the beginning of the First World War in 1914) is often described as the age of cultural awakening or renaissance (*Nahda*) in the Arab East. During this period, and within a few decades in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, with the introduction of the printing press, Palestine went through a remarkable printing, literacy and newspaper revolution with new and radical ideas being communicated widely. However, even before the arrival of the printing press in Palestine in the late nineteenth century the demand for European consumer goods and writing materials grew significantly in urban Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century. This can be seen clearly in the city of Nablus, one of the wealthiest cities in Palestine and historically a renowned centre for manufacturing textiles, soap and paper since the Middle Ages; in the late thirteenth century, at the height of the Mamluk period, the city, together with Damascus and other cities in Palestine and Syria, boasted factories producing paper for both local use and export to Egypt (Amar, Gorski and Neumann 2010: 29); yet by the 1860s we can

see the demand in Nablus, and other Palestinian cities, for European textiles, paper and other consumer goods growing markedly and a shop selling 'pens, pencils, and paper, and Birmingham wares' was reported in the city of Nablus in the mid-1860s – the paper and other writing material being imported through Jaffa and Beirut and transported overland to Nablus (Kropf 2018: 69).

In addition to the Ottoman educational reforms of the late nineteenth century,[1] press censorship was relaxed following the Ottoman Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and some thirty-two newspapers appeared in Palestine in the post-1908 period (Yehoshua 1974). Due to the introduction of printing technology and print capitalism in the late nineteenth century in Palestine, the spread of modern education and linguistic, cultural and religious memories as well as standard Arabic and vernacular (colloquial) Palestinian Arabic all became markers of a distinct new modern identity and the first modern educational revolution in Palestine with the beginning of mass literacy. It was not local or international capitalism per se that produced the beginnings of the educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory period: it was the dramatic improvement in healthcare and sanitation and the creation of many modern hospitals and clinics that produced a dramatic rise in life expectancy in the country, combined with the establishment of a large number of modern schools and educational institutions, which were central to this education revolution. Until the late nineteenth century the worldwide infant mortality rate was high and (for many people) life expectancy was relatively low – Palestine was no exception. Dramatic expansion of modern healthcare (including many missionary hospitals, hospices and clinics) together with improved sanitation and modern schools in late Ottoman (Hamidian) Palestine (Büssow 2011a) brought about a significant rise in life expectancy and demography in Palestine, and this, in turn, contributed to further expansion of the educational system in the country.

Furthermore, in Palestine the revolution caused by the introduction of the printing press and newspapers, which began in the late Ottoman period and grew further in the first half of the twentieth century (including in the British Mandatory period), was accompanied by the introduction of modern technologies, including trains and other forms of modern transport systems, public clock towers in the cities and modern time-keeping, photography and photojournalism, which were followed by a huge growth in multilingual secular and community-based schools and mass literacy as well as a dramatic rise in life expectancy and rapid urbanization. Within a short period, and by 1948, more than one-third of Palestinian Arab society was urban-based. Together with the sharp rise in modern secular schools in the country, increased literacy broke the monopoly of the small, religiously minded, literate elites in the cities on education and learning practices and bolstered the emerging middle and professional classes in the cities. The increasing cultural self-awareness of educated people led to the rise of secular proto-nationalism in late Ottoman Palestine. Embryonic Palestinian cultural nationalism and territorial patriotism preceded Palestinian political nationalism, and this was fostered in

schools and teacher training seminaries in late Ottoman Palestine. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Russian Orthodox schools and teacher training colleges in Palestine (Nazareth and Beit Jala) and Lebanon (Tripoli) played an important role in promoting a cultural renaissance in the country and beyond. These schools subsequently came to be among the best in the country, contributing to this national cultural awakening. The scholarly and literary works of Khalil Ibrahim Beidas (1874–1949), Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi (1864–1913), Professor Kulthum ʿOdeh (1892–1965), later of Leningrad/St Petersburg University, and Khalil Sakakini, the founder of *al-Dusturiyya School* (the 'Constitutional School') in Jerusalem in 1909, were the high end of the educational, cultural and literary revolution of late Ottoman Palestine – a modernist civic revolution that was dedicated to self-enlightenment, self-improvement, social empowerment and – politically speaking – self-representation, equal citizenship and regional autonomy within the Ottoman state.

The Palestinian printing and school revolution of the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods was, in large measure, a product of the transnational history of the country and the movement of people (including pilgrims and tourists) and institutions, new ideas and new technologies, modern transport networks and trade, print capitalism and actual capital. Late Ottoman Palestine benefited from the marked improvement of communication and transport in the country and the establishment of many European Christian and Russian missions – missions that competed fiercely for influence through the establishment of schools, hospitals, clinics, churches, research centres, archaeological museums, printing presses, colleges for the ordination of local Arabs and other institutions in the country from the 1860s onwards – and powerful European consulates. These political and social developments were combined with the arrival of the European technological revolution in the country, including the advent of print capitalism, trains and modern transport, photography and newspapers in late Ottoman urban Palestine. There was an extraordinary array of state, private and community schools founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The enormous linguistic diversity and decentralized networks of schools in Palestine contrasted with the new homogenizing forces in the Jewish and Hebrew-centred schools of the European Zionist Yishuv (Colony) in Palestine during the Mandatory period. Already in the late Ottoman period several important Zionist educational institutions were created, including the art school Bezalel, founded in Jerusalem in 1906, and the Technikum (the Hebrew Technical Institute and, after 1948, renamed the 'Technion') – today Israel's leading institute of technology – founded in Haifa in 1912, and in 1942–43 attended by 181 students (Epstein 1945: 191). The Technikum, originally teaching in German, played a major role in the early inter-Zionist 'war of the languages' and the consolidation of modern Hebrew as the official language of the Zionist Yishuv in Palestine. The same Yishuv also founded the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the mid-1920s, the Zionist flagship 'Hebrew' university, and the Hebrew and University Library in Jerusalem,

today the largest library in Israel. But, in reality, the Yishuv in Palestine itself was not homogenous, and even cultural Zionism, despite its growing power and hegemonic status, was never monolithic. However, politically the Zionist attempts to 'nationalize' and racialize the Yishuv and turn 'Hebrew' into the only ('national') legitimate language of the Yishuv were part of a long struggle to homogenize the Jewish community in pre-1948 Palestine and suppress competing languages among Jews in Palestine (from Yiddish to Arabic). The Zionists called this in Hebrew '*Riv Ha'leshonot*'. But this Zionist 'linguistic war' against other languages in historic Palestine is not over yet; the constitutional supremacy of 'Hebrew' over 'Arabic', in a state whose Palestinian Arab citizens constitute over 20 per cent of the population, was restated recently in the Israeli National Law of 2018.

European Missionaries and the 'School Race' for the Holy Land: The Diversity of Modern Arab Schooling and Curricula

Among the early European missionary societies to enter what would soon become a fierce 'school race' in Palestine was the Protestant British Mission Society and English Episcopal Evangelical Church (St John Church in Haifa 2018), an Anglican mission society founded in 1799 which established a permanent missionary station in Jerusalem in 1833. Subsequently, the Episcopal Evangelical Church established St John's Evangelical Episcopal School in Haifa in 1868 – today *Madrasat Mar Yuhanna* – which was the first modern Arab school to be established in this Arab town and one of the earliest modern schools in Palestine. This Anglican Church society soon began ordaining educated Arab Anglicans in the early 1870s and founding Anglo-Arab institutions, including schools, churches and hospitals in Nazareth and Jerusalem, including St George's Cathedral in Jerusalem in 1898, Bishop Blyth school in Jerusalem, St George's College in Jerusalem in the 1920s, as a training seminary for local Arab clergy, and the Arab Evangelical Episcopal School in Ramallah in 1954 (American Friends of the Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem [AFEDJ] 2021). Not to be outdone by other European powers in the scramble for the Holy Land, the Russians entered the 'school race' for the Holy Land relatively late, in the early 1880s, but within a relatively short period, 1882–1914, their permanent mission in Palestine managed to out-compete all other European missions in Palestine in terms of the number and quality of educational institutions in the country.

However, this fierce competition between European and Russian missions in Palestine produced a diverse market and curricula in Arab schooling, and the curricula reflected not only the indigenous cultural, social and religious pluralism of Palestine and the cosmopolitanism of modern Palestinian education but also the European powers' political and strategic interests in the country (Tibawi [1956] 1972, 1961). Although the languages of instruction of Arab schooling

and the foreign languages taught changed over time, the different curricula taught and the language of instruction in each missionary school system often represented the preferences of the European missionary funders. While the early Eastern European Zionist settler Yishuv in Palestine (before the First World War) went through the 'war of the languages' and the consolidation of modern Hebrew as the single 'nationalist' language of the monocultural Zionist colony in Palestine, the plethora of European missionary schools in Palestine produced a diversity of knowledge of European and Russian languages – bilingualism and multiculturalism becoming common among educated indigenous Palestinians. But this 'market of competing languages and curricula' – in addition to the modern Ottoman primary state schools, which taught in Arabic and Turkish – would ultimately be outdone by Arabic as the pre-eminent language of indigenous Palestinians and the rising Palestinian cultural and political nationalism and the struggle for self-determination. However, as we will see in Chapter 11, the Arab state schools of the British Mandatory system largely inherited the Ottoman primary state school curricula, while replacing Turkish with English as the key foreign language.

In the period 1860s–1914, with the underfunding of public schools in Palestine by the Ottoman state, private schools dominated the Palestinian educational sector and three times as many students studied in private and missionary schools as in state schools (Campos 2011). Moreover, the enormous diversity of private, community, missionary and Ottoman state school systems and linguistic curricula in Palestine was staggering. The emphasis of many of the missionary and community schools was on high-quality teaching of foreign languages, in addition to Arabic. The diverse schooling systems included:

1. *the Anglican schools and colleges* in Palestine since the 1860s (teaching in English and Arabic);
2. *the Lutheran schools* (teaching in English, German and Arabic), which generally provided enlightened and efficient German-style education, and the *Teacher Training Seminary at the Syrisches Waisenhaus* in Jerusalem (also known as the *Lutheran Schneller Orphanage*), which also included a primary school (known locally as the Dabbagha School) for orphaned Arab boys and girls (1860 to 1940), located inside the Old City and teaching in Arabic and German (Jawhariyyeh in Tamari and Nassar 2014: 19);
3. *the Terra Sancta schools* in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth (teaching in Arabic, while English, French and Hebrew were taught as foreign languages);
4. *the French schools*: *Collège des Frères* and *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* in Jerusalem and Jaffa (teaching in French and Arabic);
5. *the Russian 'Maskob' schools*, *seminaries and teaching training colleges* (teaching in both Russian and Arabic) (see below);
6. *Rahbat-al-Wardiyya schools* for girls (and boys) (teaching in Arabic and other European languages as foreign languages);

7. the London-based *Society for Promoting Female Education in the East* (SPFEE) (Church Missionary Society [CMS]);
8. *the American Quakers' Schools* in Ramallah: the 'Girls' Training Home of Ramallah' (renamed 'Friends Girls' School' in 1919) was inaugurated in 1888 and the 'Boys' Training Home of Ramallah' (precursor of the 'Friends Boys' School') was founded in 1889. The schools are now co-educational and teach various educational curricula in both Arabic and English, and are divided into lower (elementary) and upper (secondary) schools. Their alumni include Dr Khalil Totah, Dr Hanan Ashrawi, Professor Ibrahim Muhawi and Raja Shehadeh;
9. *German-funded Catholic and Lutheran Schools for Girls*: Schmidt's Girls College and Talitha Kumi School (teaching in German and Arabic);
10. *the Italian Salesian Order* running a number of schools and orphanages in Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem (teaching in Arabic and Italian); and
11. *modern Ottoman state schools* – several primary and modern secondary schools were established in Jerusalem (including al-Madrasa al-Hamidiyya, al-Madrasa al-Rashadiyya [renamed 'Rashidiyya' after 1918], al-Madrasa al-Ibrahimiyya and Rawdat al-Maʾarif Islamic School), in Jerusalem, Acre, Nablus, Jaffa and other Palestinian cities.

Perhaps more than any other urban centre in Palestine, modern Jerusalem emerged as the most important intellectual and cultural centre in the country, and the city embodied the emergence of a modern Palestinian cosmopolitan education. Since the late Ottoman period the high-quality cosmopolitan missionary schools of Jerusalem have continued to attract students from all over Palestine, thus contributing to the formation of a distinct modern cosmopolitan Palestinian identity. Jerusalem anthropologist Dr Ali Qleibo, of Al-Quds University, writes:

> For the past century Jerusalem has stood apart from the rest of Palestine with its distinctive cosmopolitan character. From all over Palestine parents would send off their children to Jerusalem's boarding schools. For the girls there were many options: the Schmidt School, the Sisters of Zion, the Rosary Sisters, the Jerusalem Girls' College, etc. The boys would invariably be sent to the Frères School, Terra Santa, or St. George.
>
> (Qleibo 2015)

In Jerusalem and other urban centres in Palestine, the local Ottoman authorities did encourage the establishment of, and directly established, several distinctly modern elementary state schools (known as *Madresseh Rushdi-ye*: Rushdi Schools) in several cities in Palestine. In Jerusalem the *Rushdi-ye* was established as al-Madrasa al-Rashadiyya after 1909 (and renamed Rashidiyya after 1918) and subsequently expanded into a secondary school. Some of these schools were also co-educational. But elementary school teachers in state schools in late Ottoman Palestine were not well paid; the monthly salary of a primary school teacher in

the 1890s was 120 Ottoman lira,[2] which was low compared with the monthly salary of a government official in 1913 of 500–800 lira and the monthly salary of the governor of the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem in 1906 of 12,000 lira (Büssow 2011b: 564). Located a few metres from what later became known as the Palestine Archaeological Museum, al-Madrasa al-Rashidiyya was established by Ahmad Reshid Bey, the Ottoman governor of the autonomous Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, in 1906. After the First World War the school developed into a secondary school. It also became one of the main educational features of Al-Quds, with generations of pupils graduating from the late Ottoman period until the present. The school then attracted students not only from many Palestinian cities but also from neighbouring Arab countries. The palatial style of the school building was typical of some of Palestine's imposing Arab buildings constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century, which combined modernism and local traditions. With many large windows and an emphasis on the internal space and architectural aesthetics, among the Islamic architectural features of the building were the arches and use of stone as well as the addition of an inscription of a memorial text (Jerusalem Visitor Guide n.d.) – a tradition that can be found in the great Islamic medieval colleges of Jerusalem such as the Salahiyya college and the Tankaziyya college. Also, during the early 1870s the Association of Good Will, an important Islamic charitable organization established in Bilad al-Sham, began to establish Arab-Muslim schools in Acre and Jerusalem (Torstrick 2000: 89). Furthermore, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman governor of Acre established a *Rushdi School* in the district, which provided basic education in Turkish, with Arabic being taught as a second language, with a duration of four years of study (89). The proliferation of elementary schools in late Ottoman urban Palestine was much in evidence in Acre, which had six state and community schools, including one Greek Orthodox school for girls (Dabbagh 1965).

Three top Palestinian universities – Bethlehem (Bethlehem University n.d.), Birzeit and al-Najah – can either trace their origins to or evolved directly from advanced Palestinian colleges and community schools founded in the late Ottoman or early Mandatory period. Al-Najah was founded as an elementary school in 1918 by members of the Tuqan family, a notable Palestinian family that during the Ottoman era dominated administratively, politically and economically the Jabal Nablus region, and which in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held the important title of *mutasallim* (governor/tax collector) of the Nablus region. Al-Najah quickly developed in the 1920s into a secondary school and by 1941 into a college, offering a diploma. In 1965 it became a teacher training college and by 1977 a full university. During the Mandatory period al-Najah Secondary School/College became a major hub of Palestinian literary, intellectual and nationalist activities, and two important Palestinian national poets taught at al-Najah College in this period: Ibrahim Tuqan (1905–1941), whose resistance poetry had a huge impact on the great Palestinian uprising of 1935–39, and ʿAbd al-Rahim Mahmoud (1913–48), also known as the 'Martyr' – who was a graduate

of, and later a teacher of, Arabic literature at the college – who personally took part in the anti-colonial uprising in the 1930s and was killed fighting Zionist forces in 1948. The three colleges (later universities) of al-Najah, Bethlehem and Birzeit began as schools, then evolved into colleges and finally into universities. They also became important centres for Palestinian Arab intellectual, cultural and national life. Originating from male schools, both al-Najah and Bethlehem universities have been transformed in recent years; in 2019, out of the 23,506 students at al-Najah, 64 per cent were female (An-Najah National University 2018–2019) and out of the 18,670 students at Bethlehem, 68 per cent were female (Bethlehem University 2020).

Birzeit University (since 1975) evolved from a primary (and later secondary) school for girls founded in 1924 by the three sisters and educators Elizabeth, Victoria and Nabiha Nasir, remarkable Palestinian women and leading social activists in the country's movement for women's equal rights and women's education, who fought against gender stereotyping and for high educational expectations for Arab girls (Fleischmann 1998). It evolved into a modern co-educational boarding secondary school in 1932, and was renamed Birzeit College in 1942. Later in the 1970s Nabiha Nasir's nephew Dr Hanna Nasir, a long-time President of Birzeit University, was exiled by the Israeli authorities, but he continued to serve as Birzeit University's President from Amman in exile, until his return to the West Bank in 1993.

It is not widely recognized that Palestinian women educators such as Elizabeth Nasir, a teacher and social reformer who dedicated her life to educating children in need, played a key role in modern Palestinian education. While during the late Ottoman and early Mandatory periods education of girls focused on the urban upper and middle classes, subsequently more attention was also given to the education of poor girls and marginalized women. For instance, Elizabeth Nasir, who graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1933 with a degree in social sciences, established Rawdat al-Zuhur school in Jerusalem in the post-Nakba period in 1952; the school originally provided vocational education for orphaned, destitute and poor girls (Fleischmann 2003: 240) and also paid special attention to teaching music. Today Rawdat al-Zuhur is a thriving school which, in addition to Arabic, teaches English and French as well as a range of subjects including music, and the children also train at a computer laboratory at the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music.

Historically the University of Bethlehem also played an important part in the education of Palestinian women. Bethlehem University can trace its roots to late Ottoman Palestine in the 1870s to 1890s and the Christian De La Salle Brothers and Lasallian educators who focused on educating the poor. In Palestine in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Lasallian educators began to establish French-language schools and *Collèges des Frères* in Bethlehem, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa and Nazareth. The French Roman Catholics (Latins) built the imposing Stella Maris monastery on Mount Carmel in 1836 and the Frères des écoles chrétiennes began

teaching French at the Carmelite School in Haifa in 1882 (Seikaly 2002: 22). French and Italian Catholic missionary orders in Palestine (Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and De La Salle) encouraged bilingualism and multilingualism in their educational institutions (Farsoun 2004: 83). The French Catholic St Joseph College for boys in Jaffa provided first-rate education in both Arabic and French in late Ottoman Palestine (Ayalon 2004: 39). Also, in late Ottoman Palestine, an extraordinary number of Western-funded (and often missionary-run) Roman Catholic *Terra Sancta* schools and colleges in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth (often run by the Franciscan Brothers or attached to convents) and *Collèges des Frères* in Palestine (run by the De La Salle Brothers) began to appear in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, Bethlehem and (after 1948) in Jericho and, more recently, a Franciscan-run Music Teaching School in the Old City of Jerusalem (see also Custodia Terrae Sanctae n.d.). The Terra Sancta College for boys in Bethlehem was originally established by the Franciscan Brothers as a school in 1598 (Amara 1999: 92, n. 2; see also Custodia Terrae Sanctae n.d.).

Renowned for their avowed poverty and austerity and as 'grey friars' for their inexpensive clothing, the Franciscans were founded in the early thirteenth century by Saint Francis of Assisi, who initiated a spirit of dialogue and understanding between Latin Christianity and Islam in the later part of the crusader period. The Franciscan presence in Palestine dates to 1217; they were allowed to settle in Jerusalem by the Mamluks in the late thirteenth century shortly before the destruction of the last crusader state and the capture of Acre. The Franciscans were later recognized by the Ottomans as 'Custodians of the Holy Land'. Their long involvement in Palestine gave them certain advantages over other European missionary organizations in late Ottoman Palestine. However, the first of the high-quality French international (primary and secondary) Collèges des Frères, which became part of the Lasallian educational system and emphasized education for the poor, was founded in Jerusalem in 1876 – and which, in the late Ottoman period, was attended not only by Palestinian Muslim and Christian children but also some Palestinian Jewish children – although during the Mandatory period (1918–48), and against the background of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, only a small minority of Jewish pupils attended Arab schools and a small minority of Arab pupils attended private Jewish schools. The second Lasallian educational institution was the Collège des Frères de Jaffa, opened in 1882. Other Collèges des Frères were founded in the towns of Haifa, Nazareth and Bethlehem. The Lasallian Christian Brothers went on to set up Bethlehem University, the first university established in the West Bank under Israeli occupation in 1973. Thus, Bethlehem University can trace its scholarly roots to late Ottoman Palestine in 1893 when the De La Salle Brothers opened Collèges des Frères and schools in Bethlehem, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Nazareth (Bethlehem University n.d.).

In late Ottoman Palestine (unlike today) most foreign-funded cosmopolitan missionary schools were not fully bilingual. Depending on the nationality of the monks or the missionary group, often the foreign language (Russian, French,

Italian, English) was given a big share of the timetable and many subjects in the senior classes, with the exception of Arabic, were taught in the language of the missionary group (see, for instance, Hopwood 1969: 143) – a situation that would subsequently, with the rise of local Palestinian Arab nationalism, lay missionary schools open to charges of cultural colonialism. But in all missionary schools Arabic was taught in Arabic by Arab teachers. In addition to a wide range of secular subjects, crucially, these modern primary and secondary schools enrolled both Muslim and Christian children, many of whom came from disadvantaged or poor social backgrounds.

In addition to the proliferation and wide linguistic and cultural diversity of the missionary schools in urban Palestine, foreign biblical museums were also established, beginning with the Franciscan Biblical Museum (Terra Sancta Museum) established in Jerusalem in 1902 (Custodia Terrae Sanctae n.d.). Twelve years earlier, in 1890, the Ottoman authorities established the Ottoman Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, the first archaeological museum to be set up in late Ottoman Palestine. The latter's collections were later taken over by the British Palestine Museum of Antiquities (1921–30) and then by the Palestine Archaeological Museum (opened in 1938). A 1910 handwritten Ottoman catalogue of the Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem has even survived and is held in the library of the Rockefeller Museum, where it is called the 'Pre-War Catalogue of the Palestine Archaeological Museum' (St Laurent with Taşkomurl 2013: 22–3).

Equally instrumental in this development and rapid growth of modern elementary schools in the late Ottoman period was the establishment of dynamic private Protestant schools, both Lutheran and Anglican, in Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jaffa, Haifa, Jerusalem, Gaza and Nablus. The Anglican and Lutheran churches were among the new churches of nineteenth-century Palestine, and the Anglicans continued to expand their churches and high-quality schools across the country into the twentieth century. In 1903 an Anglican church was built in al-Ramla and an Anglican school was founded in the same city in 1947. Some of the best-known and most influential modern schools were infused with 'Protestant ethics', with an emphasis on discipline, pietism, idealism and religious individualism. These included: the Dabbagha School (which was governed by the Lutheran Church) next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the German-language Lutheran Schneller School/Orphanage in Jerusalem, which offered academic and vocational training to thousands of orphaned Arab boys and girls from Palestine and neighbouring countries in the period 1860–1940; and the English-language St George's School in Jerusalem.

The European competition for influence in Palestine and the extraordinary impact of these missionary and community schools on the rise of literacy, especially in urban Palestine, and generally on the educational history of Palestine in the twentieth century can be seen from the case of St George's School in Jerusalem. The growing importance of St George's School (and the Quaker-Friends Schools in Ramallah) already before the First World War also demonstrates the growing

importance of English as a foreign language taught in advanced Palestinian education, at the expense of the influential French and Turkish languages in late Ottoman Palestine, and the increasing influence of British intervention in the affairs of Palestine. Known locally as *Madrasat al-Mutran*, St George's School, a private British Anglican boys' school, was established in Jerusalem in 1899 – and located next to St George's College, just outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem – and run by the Anglican diocese of Jerusalem. Today this Anglican school teaches English, Arabic and Hebrew and runs the *tawjihi* curriculum, the General Secondary Education Certificate Examination in Palestine and Jordan; Jordanian universities require that, for Arab students, one of their eight subjects must be Arabic at either 'O' or 'A' level. Notable Palestinian alumni of the elite St George's School are Edward Said, later a Professor of Comparative Literature at Columbia University; Ibrahim Tuqan (1905–41), a national poet who went on to study at the American University of Beirut (1923–29) and then taught at the al-Najah college of Nablus, headed between 1921 and 1928 by pan-Arab Palestinian educator, novelist and historian Muhammad ʿIzzat Darwaza, who also became an author of school textbooks during the British Mandatory period; Emil Ghuri (1907–84), Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee during the Mandatory period; Sari Nusseibeh, later Professor of Philosophy and President of Al-Quds University; Ismail Raghib Khalidi (1916–66), who later studied at the Arab College in Jerusalem, the American University of Beirut and obtained his PhD from Columbia University in 1955, and became a senior political affairs officer at the UN; Manoug Manougian, born in Jerusalem in 1935, who later graduated from the University of Texas and became an Armenian scientist and professor; Mufid Nashashibi (1915–99), who later studied engineering at the American University of Beirut and became one of the founders of the Palestinian National Liberation League in 1942; and Dr Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi (1896–1951), Principal of the Government Arab College (1925–48), the leading Arab educational institution of Mandatory Palestine. Middle-class alumni of the Russian Maskob schools (before the First World War), Terra Sancta schools, Collèges des Frères, St George's School in Jerusalem and the Friends Schools in Ramallah subsequently formed the backbone of the urban Palestinian academic and literate classes of the first half of the twentieth century.

Commenting on the extraordinary impact of the cosmopolitan mission schools on the construction of modern indigenous Muslim and Christian identity in Jerusalem, Dr Ali Qleibo, of Al-Quds University, writes:

> By the turn of the twentieth century, Christian missions in Jerusalem had already succeeded in providing a safe locus whereby the local Muslim and Christian population could profit from full exposure to Western civilization. Within the context of the Christian missionary schools, the privileged Jerusalemite had the better of the two worlds. One slept in the shadow of the Dome of the Rock in the Muslim Quarter but spent the school day in the

> Christian Quarter studying under the tutelage of French, Italian, Spanish, Maltese, Irish, and German friars and sisters.
>
> (Qleibo 2015)

The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division in Washington, DC, has photographs taken in 1903 of Arab schoolchildren of Jenin (Kuttab school) and schoolchildren at the Christian Mission School of Nablus. But not all of the Palestinian urban centres benefited equally or directly from the modern missionary or church-sponsored schools in late Ottoman Palestine; for instance, it has been suggested that al-Khalil's (Hebron's) (Muslim and Jewish) education system remained 'traditional' into the 1930s and no church-sponsored schools were established in the city (Taraki and Giacaman 2006: 19). However, the Ottoman authorities began establishing the first modern primary schools in al-Khalil in 1882 (Katz 2009: 25).

Even though the vast majority of schools in late Ottoman Palestine were of an elementary type and urban-based, some high-quality modern teacher training seminaries began to emerge during this period. However, by the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 more than 10 per cent of the school-age population in the district of Jerusalem went to Ottoman state schools and acquired at least a basic literacy in Arabic. Adding the Christian community missionary and private schools, this proportion in the autonomous Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem might have been 30 per cent (Büssow 2011a: 55–80). Also, by 1908 there were tens of thousands of people in Palestine, men and women, who could read official notices and were able to understand the Arabic part of the government gazette, *al-Quds al-Sharif* (55–80). The literacy rate among the Palestine Arabs continued to rise during the early Mandatory period, and Palestinian historian Rashid Khalid puts the figures in 1932 at 25 per cent of Muslim men, 3 per cent of Muslim women, 72 per cent of Christian men, and 44 per cent of Christian women (Khalidi 1998: 225, n. 33). The high literacy rate among Palestinian Christian men and relatively high literacy rate among Palestinian Christians are closely related to the proliferation of missionary schools in Palestine. Haifa-born Palestinian scholar Samih Farsoun (1937–2005), of the American University of Washington, DC, observed:

> In general, literacy increased in Palestine during the nineteenth century, and as printing presses were established, first by European missionaries and later by native Palestinians, it increased further. It also led to a literary renaissance and increased political consciousness. The Christian community in Palestine in particular became progressively urbanized and educated, engaging in contemporary occupations at a rate faster than their majority Muslim compatriots. From the nineteenth century, many of the Palestinian community and its political leaders – Muslim and Christian – emerged with an education provided by the missionary schools.
>
> (Farsoun 2004: 84)

In view of the remarkable impact of missionary schools on literacy and education in Palestine from the late Ottoman period onwards, this remarkable growth in elementary schools and literacy in Palestine (especially among men and Christian women) can also be assessed comparatively and in absolute terms: by the early twentieth century urban Palestine boasted dozens of elementary schools and relatively more elementary schools than many Middle Eastern countries; for instance, in 1901 in Iran (with a population eight times bigger than in Palestine) there were seventeen elementary schools in Tehran and one in each of the cities of Tabriz, Mashhad, Bushire and Rasht (Arasteh 1962: 51) – although mission schools in Iran may not have been included in these numbers (Lorentz 2011: 647–55).

With the Ottoman authorities devoting for the first time significant financial resources to advance education in Palestine, including the establishment of several modern schools, especially in Jerusalem, high-quality private (primary and secondary) community schools dominated the late Ottoman period. Two important secondary schools were established in late Ottoman Jerusalem: al-Ibrahimiyya School and Rawdat al-Maʾarif School. An influential private school, housed in the compound of the Haram al-Sharif, in the Old City of Jerusalem, Rawdat al-Maʾarif school was originally founded in Jerusalem in 1896 by Shaykh Muhammad Suleiman al-Salih. The school was the first Muslim school in Palestine to adopt a decidedly modern reformist curriculum, especially following the Ottoman Constitutional Revolution of 1908. Rawdat al-Maʾarif (literally the 'Garden of Knowledges'), which soon evolved into a modern secondary school (from Kindergarten to grade 12) with facilities for boarders (Tibawi [1956] 1972), continued to expand during the Mandatory period, and the school was partly maintained by the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC), the highest body in charge of Palestinian community affairs in Mandatory Palestine, especially matters relating to *waqf* bequests, Sharia Courts and Islamic schools. Later during the Mandatory period other Rawdat al-Maʾarif-related schools were founded in Palestine and Transjordan (in Amman). During the Mandatory period the SMC also maintained the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre, the al-Falah School in Gaza and Dar al-ʿUlum School in Jaffa as day primary-secondary schools (Tibawi [1956] 1972). The Rawdat al-Maʾarif school of Jerusalem prepared boys for matriculation and higher education.

Promoting physical education was initiated by Palestinian educator Khalil Sakakini before the First World War, and enhancing the lives of pupils through sports in Palestinian schools began during the late Ottoman period. But sports became a major part of schools' activities during the Mandatory period and schools' sports days, involving competitions, were held regularly throughout Palestine, often involving multiple schools; a sports day for primary schools in and around Jerusalem in 1940 lists twenty-five schools taking part in the event, including al-Rashidiyya, al-ʿOmariyya, al-Bakriyya, Musrara, al-Shaykh Jarrah, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Lifta, Silwan, al-Tur, ʿAyn Karem, al-Maliha, Abu Dis, al-ʿAyzariyya,

Beit Iksa, Beit Hanina, al-Khader, al-Walaja, Beit Safafa, Sur Baher, Biet Fujar, Qalunia, al-ʿInab, Beit Sahur and Battir – with al-Rashidiyya coming ahead followed by al-ʿOmariyya. However, in the early Mandatory period Rawdat al-Maʾarif not only put physical education on its school curriculum but also boasted the only Arab physical education/sports teacher in the country (Khalidi 2006: 46). Furthermore, while other school journals in Palestine were driven by print capitalism and the advertising of Western consumer goods, Rawdat al-Maʾarif school began to publish one of the most influential and successful Arabic school 'Journals' in modern Palestine: *Majallat Rawdat al-Maʾarif,* produced jointly by teachers and pupils, without succumbing to advertising Western consumer goods. *Majallat Rawdat al-Maʾarif* was also credited with contributing to the growth of Palestinian Islamic reformist education and youth literacy, critical political journalism and national identity construction in Mandatory Palestine (Greenberg 2008: 79–95). National identity construction at leading secondary schools was also enhanced by the Palestinian Scout movement, which started in late Ottoman Palestine at St George's School in Jerusalem in 1912 and began to spread during the early Mandatory period to other major urban secondary schools, such as Rawdat al-Maʾarif School and al-Najah School in Nablus, with a strong commitment to national identity (Degani 2014: 200–18).

The sharp rise in urban literacy and flourishing cultural and public spaces of late Ottoman Jerusalem and the reimagining of Palestinian territorial identity and growth of territorial patriotism and proto-nationalism, promoted by Palestinian Orthodox Arab intellectuals such as Khalil Beidas in the late nineteenth century, encouraged Palestinian Arab Orthodox journalists ʿIssa al-ʿIssa (1878–1950) and his cousin Yousef Hanna al-ʿIssa to set up the daily newspaper *Falastin* (Palestine) in Jaffa in January 1911; with its distinctly vernacular name, it was based on modern perceptions of Palestine. In late Ottoman Palestine the construction of a two-tier Palestinian Arab/Ottoman identity based on Ottoman citizenship and equality for all inhabitants was attempted. The newspaper *Falastin* (1911–67) would not only become one of the most influential voices of modern indigenous Palestinian national identity; it would also fiercely oppose Zionist settler-colonization. For decades *Falastin* would remain dedicated to the cause of Palestine, to Palestinian territorial nationalism and pan-Arab solidarity, and to the Arab Orthodox community in its struggle with the Greek-dominated Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The Teacher Training Revolution: Russian Schools and Teacher Training Colleges in Palestine, 1882–1914

The 1868 map of Nazareth drawn by Titus Tobler of Germany shows a school located in the Greek Orthodox bishop's compound, presumably for boys (Emmett

1995: 88). But the 'school race' for Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century between the Orthodox churches, on the one hand, and the Protestant and Catholic churches, on the other, and between the indigenous Greek-dominated Orthodox Church of Palestine and the Russian Orthodox Church – which used Nazareth as the centre for its extensive educational activities in Palestine and the Levant – has been widely documented. Sponsoring educational and charitable work and community schooling among the Orthodox Arab population of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria (Somel 2005: 260), Russia significantly and dramatically increased its presence in late Ottoman Palestine and a great deal of Russian activities in the country centred on the establishment of elementary schools in which Russian language and literature were allotted a large share of the curriculum and all subjects in the senior classes except Arabic were taught in Russian (Hopwood 1969: 146). In addition to the setting up of many elementary schools in Galilee and throughout the country by the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society, two modern teacher training colleges were established by the Russian Society in Palestine to train male and female teachers, the first of which was set up in Nazareth in 1886 and functioned until the First World War. The Russian Society in Palestine also opened its first girls' school in Nazareth in March 1885 (143), and five years later, in 1890, the Russian Society opened the first seminary and teacher training college in Palestine for women in the town of Beit Jala, near Bethlehem, for the training of Arab Orthodox girls as teachers.

Derek Hopwood writes:

> A minor revolution was brought about in the lives of those [Arab] girls who remained as teachers with the [Russian Church's] schools. They had graduated from school at eighteen and by the age of twenty-one were still unmarried in a country where the usual age of marriage was considerably lower.
>
> (Hopwood 1969: 148)

Within the context of a developing secular modern higher educational system in the Arab world in the second half of the nineteenth century, Palestine came third after Lebanon and Egypt. The Syrian Protestant College in Beirut opened in 1866 and was renamed the American University of Beirut in 1920. Egypt, with its long academic traditions, especially at al-Azhar college, had the first secular modern teacher training college in the Arab world, Dar al-ʿUlum, founded in 1871, and then the Egyptian University was founded in 1908, now known as Cairo University.

From a comparative perspective of higher education institutions and literacy (among both sexes), the establishment of the two Palestinian higher education colleges in Nazareth in 1886 and Beit Jala in 1890 was a remarkable achievement – becoming the first modern teacher training colleges of their kind in the Arab world – especially considering that the earliest of the modern higher educational institutions that were to become the first constituent colleges of the University of Baghdad was founded in 1908 and the earliest of the modern higher colleges

of Syria (which in 1923 became the University of Damascus) were founded in 1903 and 1913. The Russian Teachers' Training Seminary in Nazareth (opened in 1886), in particular, famously known throughout late Ottoman Palestine, Syria and Lebanon as Dar al-Muʾallimin (the Teachers' Training College), lasted only twenty-eight years (1886–1914), but its extraordinary impact on the literacy revolution and cultural and literary renaissance of late Ottoman Palestine is widely recognized (Abu Hanna 1994: 2005: 44).

Combined with Tsarist Russian religious revivalism, famously promoted by Leo Tolstoy, Russian diplomatic and political (and later educational) activities in Palestine began in 1844 with the arrival of the first Russian Orthodox Archimandrite in Palestine, contributing to the rise (both quantitatively and qualitatively) of the early modern Palestinian school system in the late nineteenth century. In the 1840s, the Russians obtained permission to build a massive compound in Jerusalem, covering seventeen acres. The Russian compound in Jerusalem included a hospital and the massive, striking Holy Trinity Church and several other buildings (for Russian pilgrims) and courtyards. The compound was constructed after the Crimean War, between 1860 and 1890, with the addition of a pilgrims' hospice in 1903. Russian efforts culminated in the founding of the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society, established in the Russian capital St Petersburg in 1882.

The stories of Kulthum ʿOdeh (1892–1965) and Khalil Ibrahim Beidas, both born in Nazareth and both graduates of the Russian teacher training colleges of late Ottoman Palestine, show how modern Palestinian enlightenment intellectuals became acquainted with modern world literature through the pioneering Russian Orthodox missionary schools and teacher training seminaries in Palestine in the late Ottoman period and began introducing modern Russian literature, with its socially conscious and humanitarian aspects, to Arabic-speaking audiences. Beidas travelled in Russia after his graduation in 1892 as a ward of the Russian Orthodox Church; he also came under the influence of the ideas of personal freedom of Nikolai Berdyaev, of late nineteenth-century Russian cultural nationalists such as Dostoevsky, and of writers like Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky (Der Matossian 2011: 226; Said 1999: 113–14). In his early twenties Beidas was appointed headmaster of the schools of the Russian Palestine Society and later became the Arabic teacher for senior classes at St George's School in Jerusalem (Der Matossian 2011: 226). A prolific author and translator, as early as 1898 Beidas had translated some of the works of Pushkin (the historical novel *The Captain's Daughter*) and Leo Tolstoy into Arabic. Also the Arabic title of his 1898 educational textbook demonstrates his mastery of the styles of classical Arabic education: *The Precious Decade in the Education of Children* (Beirut). Also in 1898, the geographic Preface to Beidas' translation of Akim Alekseyevich Olesnitsky's *A Description of the Holy Land*, Volume 1 (see also Foster 2016) – the original version appeared in Russian in 1875 – by the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society, describes it as a

publication of the Palestinian Orthodox Imperial Society. Beidas also talks about the inadequate geographical works available in Arabic on his country 'Palestine' and about the indigenous 'sons and daughters of Palestine' (*Abnaa Filastin*) and 'their need for an extensive geographic work on their country'. Writing to local Palestinian audiences, Beidas knew that many Palestinians would be closely familiar with the indigenous connotations of the term 'sons and daughters of Palestine'. Beidas describes Olesnitsky's work as follows: 'an extensive book which describes the country of Palestine with its places, rivers, lakes, mountains and valleys'. He also talks about his use of idiomatic Arabic and his choice of 'the simple expression which is closely related to [our] minds'. ʿOdeh's and Beidas' exceptional command of literary Arabic and classical Arab culture also shows that the Russian schools and academic institutions were an important vehicle for the transmission of classical Arabic and Arabic literature in the late Ottoman period. Beidas received his elementary and advanced education in the Russian schools in Galilee in the late nineteenth century. He also studied at the highly regarded Russian Teachers' Training College in Nazareth, which was founded by the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society in 1886, and later housed in a building that became famously known to Palestinians throughout Galilee as *al-Maskubiyyah* ('the Moscovite' compound, now a local police station). After his elementary education at local schools in Nazareth, where he concentrated particularly on Arabic, Beidas studied in the Russian Teachers' Training College of Nazareth for six years between 1886 and 1892, where he mastered the Russian language (I. Taha 2010: 73). In fact, dozens of Palestinian school teachers during the Mandatory period, including Jibrail Khouri, Yousef Hanna, Nasser Issa, Jubran Boulos and Yousef Khalil – all taught in the Acre and Galilee schools during the Mandatory period – were originally trained by the Russian teachers' training seminary of Nazareth before the First World War.

The Russian Orthodox Schools in Rural Palestine and Lebanon

While the two Russian teacher training colleges were based in urban Palestine and most European missionary schools were also located in urban Palestine, many Russian Orthodox schools were established in the religiously mixed villages of Galilee (Hopwood 1969: 142) and Lebanon, and these schools introduced modern education into and significantly enhanced the levels of literacy in the fairly poor areas of underprivileged rural Palestine and Lebanon, as well as among local women.

The curriculum of the Russian Teachers' Training College in Nazareth was both modernist and reformist; its emphasis (like that of the Russian Orthodox schools of Palestine) on educating the poor and marginalized in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon can be seen in the experiences of a celebrated graduate of the college,

Mikhail Nuʾaima (1889–1988). Nuʾaima arrived from a rural and impoverished region in Lebanon (the village of Baskinta) and studied at the college from 1902 to 1906 (Srouji 2003: 5–6). He became a celebrated Lebanese author, novelist and poet of the New York-based Arab-American literary society the Pen League (al-Rabiṭa al-Qalamiyya), which was formed during the First World War. Nuʾaima became widely recognized as one of the most important figures in modern Arabic literature. He had first been educated at a local Kuttab school and later in the new Russian Orthodox primary school in Baskinta. In 1902, after excelling in his studies, he was sent to the Teachers' Training College in Nazareth, which exposed him to a broad modern curriculum and courses in modern Russian literature and Arabic literature; Nu'aima was subsequently awarded a stipend to continue his education at the Russian Orthodox Seminary at Poltava in the Ukraine (Allen 2010: 253, 'Mikhael Nuʾaymah'). He also later went on to study at the University of Washington. Together with fellow compatriot Jubran Khalil Jubran (Gibran Khalil Gibran), Nuʾaima co-founded the Pen League, a literary movement whose primary goals included the lifting of 'Arabic literature from the quagmire of stagnation and imitation, and to infuse a new life into its veins so as to make of it an active force in the building up of the Arab nations'. As Nuʾaima himself expressed in the by-laws he drew up for the literary society:

> The tendency to keep our language and literature within the narrow bounds of aping the ancients in form and substance is a most pernicious tendency; if left unopposed, it will soon lead to decay and disintegration… To imitate them is a deadly shame… We must be true to ourselves if we would be true to our ancestors.
>
> (quoted in Naimy 1985: 18–19)

But without the Russian bilingual primary Orthodox school system in rural Lebanon and Palestine, combined with the Teachers' Training College of Nazareth, it is very unlikely that Nuʾaima would have become one of the great modern Arab writers.

Intellectual critics of traditional Arabic thought such as Nuʾaima and Jubran – and critical educators Khalil Sakakini and Khalil Beidas – were products of this network of high-quality schooling and the teacher training seminaries of late Ottoman Palestine and Lebanon (Somel 2005: 260). The *Mahjar* (Arab emigrant) school of literature, as articulated by Nuʾaima and Jubran, sought to shift Arabic literature, poetry and schooling away from their medieval classical moorings, with their traditional emphasis on the rhythmical form and law, to focus on the inner human being rather than on the language, and on the inner human spirit rather than on the letter of the law (jurisprudence) (Naimy 1985: 8). Both Biedas and Nuʾaima were highly complimentary about the Russian schools in Palestine: Beidas thought that 'In those distant days the Russian schools in Palestine were, without a doubt, the best', while Nuʾaima wrote: 'Russia surpassed its rivals [the missionary schools of France and England], because it ran schools that were free

of charge… and these schools, in their curricula and organisation, met the latest standards' (quoted in Imangulieva 2009: 35).

Born in Nazareth and educated at the Russian teacher training college for women at Beit Jala, Kulthum ʿOdeh (later Klavdia [Kulthum] Odeh-Vasil'eva) was a product of the girls' educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine. The Russian schools were not the first schools to educate girls in Nazareth and Palestine. In 1876 the local Greek Orthodox bishop started a school for girls in Nazareth. This school was established partly as a rival to a girls' orphanage/school founded in 1874 by the London-based Society for Promotion of Female Education in the East, in collaboration with the Anglican Church in Nazareth (Emmett 1995: 88). Between 1874 and 1880, this English Ladies' Society concentrated on the Palestinian Christian churches and Christian inhabitants of the city; other schools were built by the English Missionary Society and located at the centre of the town (Wilson 1881: 285). But the quality of the professional Russian girls' schools and teacher training college for women in Palestine can be seen in the remarkable story of the pioneering woman academic Kulthum ʿOdeh, who became a Soviet progressive Orientalist, the first Palestinian woman to hold the title of University Professor (Boullata 2009: 49; Tamimi 2008) and the founder of the Institute of Arabic Dialects at the University of Moscow. Highly educated in the late Ottoman period, ʿOdeh, a women's literacy campaigner, represents an example of a Palestinian female intellectual and academic scholar who has been largely ignored in the scholarly literature because her emigration from Palestine in 1914 ended in what became the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (Menicucci 2001: 139–51). On the face of it, the story of ʿOdeh is extraordinary within the context of women's education in late Ottoman Palestine. While at the time young men were able to move freely between cities to seek education in Palestine, Cairo, Beirut or Istanbul, women were mostly confined to domestic spaces and could only move from one locality to another accompanied by male relatives. However, the story of ʿOdeh also reveals the beginnings of a revolution in Palestine: the education of women, from the late Ottoman period onwards – something that has been largely ignored in the mostly male-dominated scholarly literature on education and literacy. Also, we should keep in mind that Nazareth, one of the most dynamic Palestinian towns in the late Ottoman period, boasted many modern missionary hospitals and schools in addition to the highly professional Russian Teachers' Training College.

ʿOdeh attended the Russian elementary girls' school in Nazareth, run by the Russian Palestine Society, followed by studying for seven years at the Russian Teachers' Training College in Beit Jala (with Khalil Sakakini as her Arabic teacher [Palestinian Journeys n.d.-b]). She returned to Nazareth in 1910 to teach at a Russian school (El Sakakini 1986: 73–9), worked at the Nazareth teachers' seminary of the Russian Palestine Society (Rodionov 2011: 55) and was appointed as an inspector for the Russian schools in Palestine. In the pre-1914 period, and with the spread of Palestinian and Arab newspapers and cultural magazines, ʿOdeh

began publishing articles in the Palestinian magazines *Al-Nafais al-ʾAsriyyah* (The Modern Treasures) (Haifa) – which Khalil Beidas began publishing in 1908, and at the time was perhaps the most important literary organ in Palestine – *Al-Hilal* (Cairo) and *Al-Hasnaa* (Beirut). During this period, ʿOdeh met Russian Orientalist Ignaty Krachkovsky, later one of the founders of the Soviet school of Arab studies, who visited Palestine between 1908 and 1910. Krachkovsky, known for authoring the translation of the Quran into Russian, mentioned meeting with ʿOdeh at her school in Nazareth in his book *Among Arabic Manuscripts* (Tamimi 2008), which was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1951. In 1912 ʿOdeh met Russian doctor Ivan Vasil'ev, who worked at the General Hospital in Nazareth; they were married in 1913 and a year later she accompanied him to Russia. In Russia ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva trained to become a nurse and worked as a nurse in Serbia and Montenegro during the war (Palestinian Journeys n.d.-b). After the outbreak of the October (Bolshevik) Revolution, which was followed by a civil war, Dr Vasil'ev volunteered with the Red Army (he and his wife supported the Bolshiviks), but, with the outbreak of the typhoid epidemic, he died in 1919. With Krachkovsky's help ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva pursued an academic career in modern Arabic and modern Arabic literature at the University of Leningrad (St Petersburg), and after obtaining her PhD on 'Arabic Dialects' in 1928, she was appointed as a lecturer of Arabic language at the University of Leningrad's Faculty of Oriental Languages and was a member of the Arabic Department of the Institute of Philosophy, the Arts and History. In 1941 she was appointed Professor of Arabic at the Faculty of Oriental Languages, University of Leningrad. She also became a member of the Baron Rosen circle of Arabists (Rodionov 2011: 55). Following the establishment of the Institute of Orientalism in Moscow, she moved from Leningrad to Moscow to work at this institute and also lectured at the Institute for International Relations and the Higher Diplomatic School (Palestinian Journeys n.d.-b). She also founded the Institute of Arabic Dialects at the University of Moscow (Tamimi 2008).

ʿOdeh's anti-colonial progressive politics can be seen in her 1925 letter (sent from Leningrad) in the leading Palestinian newspaper *Falastin* (Palestine) in which she expresses support for displaced Palestinian peasants and criticism of those wealthy notable Arabs who were involved in land sale to Zionist settlers in Palestine; the letter called for a united front to resist Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine. In 1928 ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva visited her home town of Nazareth and travelled around Palestine, meeting a number of Palestinian nationalist writers and educationalists and members of al-Saʾaleek Cafe (Vagabond Café) in Jerusalem, including Khalil Sakakin, Adel Jabr, Lindly Saliba al-Jawzi and Georgi Halabi (Tamimi 2008). In 1938 ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva was arrested when she courageously stood up for two Jewish colleagues, Aleksandr Moiseyevich Shami and E. Roginskaia (Rodionov 2011: 55), and again when she criticized Stalin for endorsing the UN Partition Plan and recognizing the state of Israel, a position which led to her imprisonment by the Soviet authorities; however, after the intervention of Soviet Orientalist academics, especially Krachkovsky, she was released. Until her death in 1965 ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva

remained a leading academic in Soviet Orientalist and Arabist studies and she published several books in Russian about teaching Arabic, including *Arabic for Russians* (1936) and *Anthology of Modern Arabic Literature* (1928). She also translated several books from Arabic into Russian, in addition to publishing many articles in Arab magazines, especially the Egyptian magazine *Al-Hilal*. After the Second World War, ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva moved to Moscow where she founded the Institute of Arabic Dialects at the University of Moscow. She remained an active member of the Association of Soviet Cultural Relations with Arab Countries. She was also awarded the Soviet 'Medal of Honour' in 1962 on her seventieth birthday, in recognition of her research and academic activities. The PLO posthumously awarded her the Jerusalem Medal of Culture, Arts and Literature in January 1990 (Palestinian Journeys n.d.-b). After she died in 1965, she was buried in a famous cemetery for VIPs in Moscow (Tamimi 2008). Later, Palestinian poet and journalist Salim Jubran wrote a biography of ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva, highlighting her contribution to the study of classical Arab literature (Tamimi 2008).

ʿOdeh was not the only Palestinian woman pioneer who was educated in private missionary schools and benefited from the women's educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine. Palestinian photographer Karima ʿAbboud (1893–1940) was born in Bethlehem on 13 November 1893 to parents educated in the missionary schools of Palestine in the nineteenth century; both her mother, Barbara, and her father, Saʾid ʿAbboud, were trained as teachers and worked in local schools in Bethlehem in the 1890s; her father, who later served as a Lutheran pastor, was educated at the (bilingual German-Arabic) Lutheran Schneller school in Jerusalem, which was founded in 1860; this institution also ran a teacher training seminary in the city, better known as the Syrisches Waisenhaus (the Syrian Orphanage). Abboud's grandfather had also been educated in missionary schools and had served as the senior pharmacist at the English Hospital in Nazareth, one of the most conspicuous modern buildings in the city, completed in the 1870s. Modern visual representation of Palestine through Holy Land photography had already been introduced into Palestine early on in the 1840s – photography which gradually evolved from imperial to indigenous Palestinian photography (W. Khalidi 1984) – and ʿAbboud would become one of the first professional female photographers in the Arab world. But the idea that women could become highly successful professional teachers, nurses, photographers and artists was increasingly taking root in late Ottoman urban Palestine. In any event, the advent of new forms of 'visual literacy' (through the introduction of modern photography and the use of pictures in early printed books, photobooks and newspapers in Palestine) and 'linguistic literacy' (through the arrival of the printing press in the second half of the nineteenth century) should be seen as part of the way mass literacy evolved and began expanding in modern Palestine. Karima ʿAbboud was not the first Palestinian professional photographer; Daoud Sabonji began working from a studio in Jaffa in 1892, Khalil Raʾad began working from a studio in Jerusalem in 1897, and Militad Savvides in Jerusalem in 1898; in fact, Jaffa

Street in Jerusalem became densely populated by photographers' studios, which represented the cultural diversity and shared history of the city (Azoulay 2019: 276). ʿAbboud began practising photography in 1913 and then opened a women's photography studio in Bethlehem. After the war she studied Arabic literature at the American University of Beirut. But she would also become the first indigenous Palestinian professional photographer/artist to pioneer field photography; she went out of the studio in the early 1920s, drove her car and began documenting indigenous social life and the lives of ordinary people in Palestine (first in the Nazareth region and later throughout Palestine) during the Mandatory period. She produced hundreds of photographs, the largest collection of indigenous social photography of Palestine by a single photographer in the modern period.

Other nineteenth-century Russian institutions and compounds created in Palestine, including a massive one in Jerusalem and a smaller one in al-Khalil (Hebron), are still referred to by local Palestinians as *al-Maskubiyyah*. The most famous building constructed by the Russian Society in Palestine was the Orthodox Church of Mary Magdalene, located on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, whose traditional Russian design includes seven distinctive gilded onion domes, built in 1886. Initially headquartered in Nazareth (between 1882 and 1884), the Society opened four schools in Galilee and employed Orthodox Arab and Russian teachers and Arabic translators to translate school material from Russian into Arabic. In 1900 there were 41 Russian schools with 5,500 pupils (mostly) in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, in addition to the teacher training colleges in Nazareth and Beit Jala as well as a girls' school in Beit Jala. There were also five Russian schools in Beirut (*Mis East* 1970: 43). A year earlier, in 1899, the Russian Society in Palestine had twenty-three 'Maskob schools' across Palestine. By 1895 the Russian Society was providing – in addition to the two teacher training colleges in Nazareth and Beit Jala – three types of practically free-of-charge Maskob schools for boys and girls in Palestine:

A. boarding schools in Nazareth and other towns;
B. day schools in which Russian (as well as Arabic) was taught; and
C. village schools for boys and girls under an Arab teacher (Hopwood 1969: 148).

In the villages of Palestine local people were asked to provide the buildings, but all books, notebooks, pens and pencils, equipment, sport facilities, administration and teaching were free of charge (Kildani 2010). Many of these primary schools were also co-educational, which added another dimension to the educational revolution introduced by the Orthodox Imperial Palestine Society. Soon after its arrival in Palestine in the early 1880s the Arabic rendition of the Russian name (Russian Orthodox Palestine Society) would have been taught in all Russian Orthodox schools in Palestine as Arabic was the instruction language while Russian was compulsory; other languages such as French, Turkish and Greek

were voluntary. After 1889 the Arabic rendition of the Russian name became the Palestinian Orthodox Imperial Society. This Arabic version of the Society's name would not only have been used by Beidas throughout his primary and secondary schooling in Nazareth in the early 1890s, but has also continued to be used in publications by Palestinian Orthodox Christians for more than 135 years. Eventually on 1 April 1902, after a period of negotiation between the Russian leaders of the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society and the Ottoman authorities, the latter recognized all thirty-seven schools, seminaries and teacher training colleges of the Society (the majority of which were in Palestine, with some in Syria and Lebanon), and the occasion was marked by public celebrations in Palestine, Syria and Russia.

Competing with the Maskob schools and other Western-funded missionary schools in Palestine, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem also started an intensive programme of establishing schools in Palestine from the late nineteenth century onwards and by 1914 altogether eighty-three Greek Orthodox schools had been established in the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem alone (Büssow 2011b: 529).

In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the advent of the British and French colonial era in the Middle East, the Russian language was replaced by French and English as the key foreign languages taught by the Arab Orthodox schools in the Levant. Also, during the colonial Mandatory system, the curricula of these schools varied between countries. However, the emphasis on 'knowledge acquisition' (Furas 2019: 257–73) – history, geography, religion, language, arithmetic – rather than critical thinking skills and critical evaluation of knowledge, was central to the elementary schools' curricula of colonial British education in the Near East in the interwar period. Constantin Zurayk (1909–2000), a distinguished Arab historian and academic – born into a Damascene Arab Orthodox family, who had spent decades promoting a 'revolution of reason' and secular democracy in the Arab world – once described the Arab Orthodox schooling in the Near East as 'obsessed with knowledge acquisition' and high academic achievement. A transcript of Zurayk's own primary school grades (year six) at al-ʿAsiyah Arab Orthodox School in Damascus for 1921–22 reveals the astonishing number of subjects in the curriculum as well as the high grades achieved by Zurayk (Online Exhibit n.d.):

1. Behaviour: 100 % (excellent)
2. Attendance: 100 %
3. Religions: 100 %
4. Arabic Language: 80 % (good)
5. English Language: 100 %
6. French Language: 100 %
7. Arithmetic (*hisab*): 100 %
8. Algebra:

9. Engineering:
10. Handling of Notebooks: 95 %
11. Physical Education: 85 % (very good)
12. History: 100 %
13. Geography:
14. Natural Sciences: 95 % (excellent)
15. Arabic Script: 95 %
16. French Script: 80 %
17. Music
18. Public Speech (Rhetoric): 100 %
19. Drawing: 75 % (good)
20. Study of Things:
21. Civil/Citizen Information: 100%
22. Perfection and Hygiene: 85%

However, the transnational dimensions of Arabic schooling in late Ottoman Palestine were much in evidence. During the Ottoman period the high reputation of the massive Russian Orthodox school/teacher training seminary compound in Nazareth**,** completed in 1904, attracted students from across Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries. The compound included a hostel for Russian pilgrims, a hospital, a primary/secondary school and a boarding teacher training seminary. The advanced bilingual school/seminary prepared students to teach in the primary villages of Palestine as well as to study in the higher seminaries or universities of Russia and the Ukraine.

Furthermore, the literary, scholarly and cultural contribution of Khalil Beidas, Khalil Sakakini and Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi – all graduates of the modern Russian- and European-funded schools of late Ottoman Palestine – to the modern notion of Palestine contributed to the emergence of a new literary and cultural consciousness in early twentieth-century Palestine: Beidas was a product of the educational and intellectual awakening of late Ottoman Palestine. He was also utilizing local and imperial resources such as those made available by the Russian Palestinian Orthodox Imperial Society to articulate a new sense of modern Palestinian identity. Indeed, many of Beidas' ideas were also radical and even revolutionary by the standards of late Ottoman Palestine. After graduating from the Teachers' Training Seminary in Nazareth, Beidas moved to Jerusalem, the Palestinian intellectual and cultural capital of late Ottoman Palestine. He worked as a senior Arabic teacher at the Anglican St George's School in Jerusalem (founded in 1899) and as a translator from Russian into Arabic for the Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society. He had also travelled in Russia in 1892. Beidas' exceptional linguistic and cultural talents and translations from Russian

into Arabic were influenced by the works of leading Russian novelists and poets, including Alexander Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky. Some of these authors had developed radical critiques of autocracy, popular approaches to history, identification with the lives of ordinary people and an emphasis on freedom and social justice. Tolstoy had an idealistic view of the Russian countryside and Russian peasantry and this had an impact on Beidas' positive views of the Palestinian countryside and peasantry. Beidas had already translated into Arabic and published Pushkin's historical novel *The Captain's Daughter* as *Ibnat al Qubtan* (Beirut, 1898). Beidas' weekly periodical *al-Nafais al-ʿAsriyyah* (Modern Gems) was founded ten years later in 1908 in Haifa, and it began by serializing the Russian classic novels Beidas was translating. Beidas is considered to be the 'pioneer of the Palestinian short story' (*Raid al-Qissah al-Filastiniyyah*) (Mazza 2015: 188) and in 1909 he published *Ahwal al-Istibdad* (The Conditions of Tyranny), one of the earliest critical accounts of tyrannical rule to appear in the Arabic language. Palestinian intellectual and literary critic Edward Said, a close relative of Beidas, observed that Beidas' essays, short stories, historical novels and works of translation in the pre- and post-war periods played an important role in the construction of early modern Palestinian national identity (Moore-Gilbert 2009: 182). The great flowering of Palestinian and Arab literature and poetry, of novel translations, journalism, educational experiments and private library collections during the late Ottoman period created a living memory of the period in Palestine, one much stronger in living Arab culture than that of the medieval al-Andalus period, for example. Beidas' own personal Jerusalem library of more than 6,000 books was plundered, together with other Palestinian private libraries owned by Khalil Sakakini and other Palestinian Jerusalemites, by the Israelis during the 1948 Nakba (for more on this, see *The Great Book Robbery* [2012]) (Masalha 2012). Beidas' and other Palestinian library collections can shed a great deal of light on the Palestinian intellectual renaissance and national consciousness in the late Ottoman period.

Beidas' work and activities present a landmark in the emergence of modern Palestinian nationalism for a variety of reasons. Other Palestinian intellectuals, educated in the late Ottoman period and fluent in several languages, followed Beidas' example and began translating modern European classics into Arabic, and this Arabic translation movement formed an important part of an intellectual and cultural revivalism in Palestine, and Palestinian intellectuals such as ʿAdel Zuʾaiter (1895–1957), of Nablus – one of the most important Arab translators of the modern era – who was educated in late Ottoman Palestine, translated from French into Arabic works by Voltaire, Montesquieu and *The Social Contract* (*Du contrat social; ou Principes du droit politique*; Arabic: *Al-ʿAqd al-Ijtimaʾi*) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau ([1754–1762] 2010), in which Rousseau theorized about the best way to establish an egalitarian political community and that only the people are sovereign.

Musical Literacy

The educational revolution and transnational education of late Ottoman Palestine also had an impact on the introduction of classical music into modern schooling in the country. Modern Palestinian schools of the late Ottoman period were also fortunate in the introduction and teaching of classical music. Many European- and missionary-funded schools and churches in Palestine taught musical literacy, classical music and musical notation; the Franciscan friars were among the first to introduce classical music into primary and secondary schools for all ages, and also to prepare pupils to play music and sing in the local churches. This partly explains why the leading Palestinian pedagogue of the later Ottoman period Khalil Sakakini was a passionate advocate of teaching music (both classical and Arabic) in schools. All this musical heritage of late Ottoman schooling opened the way for later Palestinian musicians to navigate the complex field of musical composition and the combination of the tunes and songs (*muwashshahat*) of the Arabs' medieval 'golden ages', music of the Eastern churches and European classical music.

Educating Girls in Palestine: Early Community Schools for Girls (1860s–1870s)

Elementary (urban) schooling of girls began in the second half of the nineteenth century and was expanded in the period before the First World War. It has already been shown that the Russian Palestine Society was among the pioneering organizations to introduce education for girls in late Ottoman Palestine, setting up a girls' school in Nazareth in March 1885 and the first teacher training college for women in the town of Beit Jala in 1890. But female education was expanded considerably, both academically and vocationally, during the Mandatory period; examples from the early Mandatory period included: Madrasat Banat Ramallah, Madrasat al-Banat al-Islamiyyah (Al-Quds) and Madrasat al-Hiyaka wal-Nasij (School of Weaving and Textile) (al-Ramla).

Across millennia and until the nineteenth century, the literate classes of Palestine were dominated by an elite class of literate men of urban notable background who sought to limit women's access to education and overall to exclude women from the processes of production and transmission of literary knowledge. Consequently, an important dimension of the literacy revolution of late Ottoman Palestine was the education of girls and the establishment of missionary-funded community schools for girls (as well as some co-educational schools) both in the late Ottoman and early Mandatory periods. Missionary-funded community schools for girls in Jerusalem, Nazareth and Gaza were among the first elementary schools for girls to be established in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rahbat

al-Nasirah School for Girls (Sisters of Nazareth, Roman Catholic School for Girls in Nazareth) was founded in 1864 and the Anglican School for Girls in Nazareth (later a co-educational school) was founded in 1866 (Nasrallah 2016: 33).

Also, in the second half of the nineteenth century the London-based Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (SPFEE), a Protestant missionary organization that sent workers to countries from China to Lebanon and Palestine/the Holy Land, began to establish schools for girls in Palestinian cities from Nazareth in the north to Gaza in the south. The SPFEE was related to the London-based Church Missionary Society (CMS), which began its work in Palestine in 1849. By 1910 CMS work had been divided into five districts – Jerusalem (with Gaza), Jaffa, Nazareth (and Galilee), Nablus and Transjordan. The chief educational institutions maintained by CMS were the Preparandi Institution and the Bishop Gobat School in Jerusalem; a girls' boarding school with teacher training at Bethlehem; in Nazareth, the English Hospital and the Protestant Orphanage – the latter completed in 1875 by the organization raising hundreds of pounds sterling from private donations in the UK and Ireland (*The Female Missionary Intelligencer* 1875: 27); the Jerusalem Girls' College; and (by the mid-twentieth century) some forty-eight elementary schools of which the largest was at Gaza ('Publisher's Note: Church Missionary Society Archive' n.d.). Also, the CMS promoted self-government and 'The Palestinian Native Church Council had been established in 1905 to give Palestinians more say in the running of their [Anglican] church and this led to more Palestinian clergy serving in the diocese' ('Church Missionary Society Archive' n.d.). The Annual Report of SPFEE of January 1875 (*The Female Missionary Intelligencer* 1875: 33), producing various testimonies from its missionary workers in Palestine, who were 'anxious to secure European female superintendence for the female missionary and educational work in Gaza', states:

> [The Society] has already established a little girls' school [in Gaza] …
>
> Ours is probably the first girls' school that ever existed in Gaza, a city now more than 3,000 years old. Most of the pupils are Mohammedans, and we may fairly hope that they will, by God's blessing, derive much good from gaining acquaintance with Holy Scripture and by association with their Christian teacher and Christian school fellows… The people of Gaza urge me much to open a second school for girls in another part of the town…
>
> Gaza [town] has more than 16,000 inhabitants. There are 60 towns and villages in the district [of Gaza], and 50,000 Arabs [Bedouins in the district] in tents, making up a population of 100,000, who are all Moslems, except about 500 persons belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church in Gaza. Ours is the only Mission, or Mission School at work amongst this vast multitude; and I earnestly entreat all who love the Gospel that they will not allow our attempt to fail for want of funds. The people of Gaza urge me much to open a second school for girls in another part of the town.
>
> (*The Female Missionary Intelligencer* 1875: 33)

Even though expectations for girls in Palestine were still deeply centred around gender stereotyping, in a society steeped in patriarchy, among these early schools for girls was the German-funded Catholic institution Schmidt's Girls College (for Christian and Muslim girls) in Jerusalem, founded in 1886. One of its renowned graduates was the celebrated Palestinian modernist poet, academic and translator Salma Khadra Jayyusi (b.1926). Today about 500 pupils attend this primary/secondary (*Tawjihi curriculum*) college and the teaching staff is composed of both Arab and German teachers. Today 80 per cent of Schmidt's College are Muslim while 20 per cent are Christian, and almost 100 per cent of the students continue onto university.

Moreover, 'face veiling' as a tradition was common among women among the upper classes of urban Palestine – not the majority of women among the Palestinian peasantry or Arab women in the countryside who worked side by side with men on the land. Since 1886 generations of girls of Muslim and Christian urban middle and upper classes of scholars and jurists have graduated from Schmidt's Girls College, which was believed by urban Arab families to be more 'conservative' than, for instance, the Quaker-run Friends School in Ramallah, but in fact the college (together with other community and missionary colleges in Palestine) played a progressive role in the gradual 'unveiling' of women in urban Palestine (Greenberg 2010: 149–50) and, importantly, in the production of a highly educated modern 'national' Palestinian urban class uniting Muslims and Christians and individuals from cities across Palestine (Taraki and Giacaman 2006: 19).

In 1851, decades before the founding of Schmidt's Girls College, another German-funded community school, the Talitha Kumi Evangelical Lutheran School and orphanage for girls, was opened in Jerusalem. In 1858 there were thirty-two female (Muslim, Jewish and Christian) pupils. In 1868, when the school received its current name, 'Talitha Kumi', it had eighty-nine female pupils. Constructed in late Ottoman Palestine, the Talitha Kumi School was housed in an impressive three-storey neoclassical building, whose façade included a large clock, located in the centre of Jerusalem (on King George Street). The building was designed by Conrad Schick (1822–1901), a German architect, archaeologist and Lutheran missionary who had settled in Jerusalem in 1846 and died in the city in 1901. Schick also designed the nearby German Hospital on Straus Street, Jerusalem, today the Israeli Hospital of Bikur Holim. This historic building of Talitha Kumi School was destroyed in 1980 by the Israeli authorities to be replaced by the Hamashpir La-Tzarchan mall building, and all that now remains of the original building is a memorial on King George Street. In 1948–49, during the Nakba, teaching at the Talitha Kumi School in Jerusalem came to an end, but the school was relaunched in 1961 as a co-educational school in Beit Jala. Today the Talitha Kumi Community College of Beit Jala has about 900 students and includes a post-secondary community school for hotel management. The college also offers a choice between a *Tawjihi* curriculum and an international programme for modern secondary school students. Classes are taught in Arabic and German and in 2015

two-thirds of the students were Christian and one-third Muslim; slightly over 50 per cent of the students are girls.

The Rahbat-al-Wardiyya Schools

The Ottoman government also opened a girls' school in late Ottoman Jerusalem, which during the Mandatory period was transformed into the Islamic Girls' School in Jerusalem, a model school for girls run by the Supreme Muslim Council (Greenberg 2010: 110). However, the extensive school network of Rahbat al-Wardiyya (the indigenous Arab Sisters of the Rosary) and the educational activities of Maryam Sultanah Danil Ghattas (Sister Marie Alphonsine Danil Ghattas [1843–1927]) is another case in point. Born in Jerusalem, Maryam Ghattas joined the Arab Rosary Sisters, the congregation of St Joseph of the Apparition – founded in 1880 – the first female congregation of nuns devoted to eradicating illiteracy among women, regardless of faith, education and social welfare, in Palestine.

Significantly raising the levels of literacy among women through their numerous schools in Palestine, the schools of Rahbat al-Wardiyya enabled many thousands of Muslim and Christian girls (and boys) to gain an education. In particular, they emphasized the importance of the Arabic language in their schools. Through their influence, Arabic, not Turkish, French or English, became the preferred language of teaching and learning in their schools in late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory period. Today, once the pupils become literate in Arabic, their schools teach them French, the official language of some of the French institutions and schools in Palestine (Jansen 2006: 56, 59–60). Supported by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been restored in Palestine in 1847, today Rahbat al-Wardiyya run forty-two schools for girls in Palestine (including Israel) and Jordan, and educate both Muslim and Christian Arab children (59–60).

The European Christian missions in the Middle East demonstrated a strong social dimension and contributed significantly to the development of schools and hospitals in Palestine (Friedrich, Kaminsky and Löffle 2010). The phenomenal expansion of missionary-backed community schools in late Ottoman Palestine, like the phenomenal expansion of Islamic medieval madrasas in Jerusalem, was influenced by the New Testament concepts of love, charity (Latin: *caritas*), goodness, social justice and mutual obligation. Furthermore, often modern education and modern health schooling went hand in hand. In late Ottoman Palestine, the phenomenal expansion of schools funded by European missionary organizations was also accompanied by the establishment of European-funded modern hospitals, teaching hospitals, hospices and other medical facilities in late Ottoman urban Palestine (the Holy Land). This development was partly driven by religio-political considerations and national self-interests and the need to care for the influx of European pilgrims and tourists to the Holy Land in the second half of the nineteenth century. Also, health issues and healing (of the blind, disabled, leprous) were central to the stories of the New Testament and the ministry of

Jesus, and the vast majority of the hospitals and hospices constructed by Western missionary organizations in late Ottoman Palestine were in Palestinian towns and cities closely linked to the New Testament narratives – Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Tiberias – and the influx of pilgrims to the holy sites of these cities. Also important is the fact that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, people in Palestine still suffered from cholera, dysentery, malaria and tuberculosis – and infant mortality was relatively high – in part because for centuries Palestine was the transit country for many Muslim pilgrims talking part in the annual Haj to Mecca, something that made the country susceptible to a steady influx of foreign diseases. Following the Crimean War of 1853–56 and especially in the second half of the nineteenth century an extraordinary number of modern European hospitals, hospices and medical facilities were founded in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Safad, Tiberias, Bethlehem, Nablus, Jaffa and Haifa. Later the first modern specialist mental hospital in the Middle East was also established in Bethlehem in 1922. The Crimean War, in particular, transformed modern nursing in Britain (and Europe), and late Ottoman Palestine was a key beneficiary of this modern nursing revolution, encouraged by some of the medical professionals who had been involved in the Crimean conflict and later in Palestine. In 1861 the Nazareth Hospital ('English Hospital') was founded in Nazareth, probably the oldest hospital in the town, which at the time was home to nearly 5,000 inhabitants. Other European-funded hospitals and hospices followed: the Austrian Hospice is an impressive hospice for pilgrims, established in 1863 at the heart of the Muslim quarter in the Old City; the British St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital, today with satellite eye care clinics and hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza, originally opened in Jerusalem in 1882; the Austrian hospital in Nazareth opened in 1884; the Scots Mission Hospital in Tiberias founded in 1894, combined with a Scottish medical facility in Safad; four French hospitals were established by the Society of St Vincent de Paul in Nazareth, Jerusalem (Saint Louis Hospital, which began operating in 1880, and its new building, opposite the New Gate, opened in 1889), Bethlehem and Jaffa; three Italian hospitals in Jerusalem (opened in the late nineteenth century[3]), Nazareth and later Haifa (opened in 1935); two Russian hospitals (and numerous hospices) in Nazareth and Jerusalem built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; also al-Watani Hospital (National Hospital) and the Ottoman-funded hospital of Sultan Mehmed Reşad were founded in Nablus in 1905 and 1910–11, respectively; and the Augusta Victoria hospital complex in Jerusalem, built in 1907–14. These modern hospitals and teaching facilities provided medical and nursing education and much-needed training grounds and hands-on experience as well as employment for local doctors and nurses. Also, the infant mortality rate of late Ottoman Palestine began to fall and the demography of the country was on the rise.

The French, in particular, dominated the European institutions in Jerusalem, and French became the second most-spoken language in the city by the First World War. By this time France was sponsoring over twenty religious institutions in and

around the city, including the massive pilgrim hospice of Notre Dame de France (built in 1884–1904), the hospital of St Louise (built in 1879–96), the convents of the Sisters of St Joseph, the Sisters of St Vincent de Paul and the Rosary Sisters, and the Dominican convent of St Stephen (1880s–1900) (Hess and Pringle 2018: 349).

The professional medical career of Dr Tawfiq Canaan (1882–1964), a pioneering physician, medical researcher and ethnographer, was very much linked to the expansion and evolution of modern medical education in Palestine. Born in Beit Jala, Canaan was taught at the Lutheran Schneller Orphanage/school in Jerusalem and later, in 1898–99, went to study medicine at the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1866 (today the American University of Beirut). Later he returned to Jerusalem to practise medicine and was appointed as manager at the German-funded Jewish hospital in Jerusalem, Sha'are Tzedek (today a major hospital in Israel), opened in 1902. After graduating from medical school in 1905, Canaan began a long career in which he occupied medical and administrative positions in several Jerusalem hospitals. In 1914 he published in German his first book, *Superstition and Popular Medicine in the Land of the Bible*; he later authored dozens of medical studies in his field of specialization, tropical medicine; in bacteriology, particularly malaria; and in other topics, such as leprosy, tuberculosis and health in Palestine. Canaan later directed the Augusta Victoria hospital in the city. Run by the Lutheran World Federation, today the care centres of the hospital provide specialist treatments that are still not available in the majority of hospitals in Palestine: the Cancer Care Centre; Haematology and Bone Marrow Transplantation Care Centre**;** Artificial Kidney Unit (dialysis); Surgical Care; Ear, Nose, Throat Centre**;** Diabetes Care Centre; and Specialized Centre for Child Care. Canaan served as a medical officer in the Ottoman army during the First World War; in the Mandatory period he co-founded and served as the first President of the Palestine Arab Medical Association (established in 1944); and held the position of director at several Jerusalem-area hospitals before, during and after the 1948 Nakba. Canaan published a large number of studies in German (translated into Arabic and English) on popular medicine in Palestine, Palestinian ethnography and anthropology (Tamari 2009: 204–5, n. 70) as well as studies on tropical medicine, malaria, tuberculosis and health conditions in the country.

Foreign Schools of Archaeology and Biblical Studies in Jerusalem

In addition to the European-funded missionary and community schools in Palestine, foreign-funded and -administered advanced postgraduate schools of archaeology began to proliferate in Jerusalem, beginning in the late Ottoman period. Overwhelmingly religiously oriented and focusing on biblical archaeology and biblical exegesis, some had the power to confer official doctorates in Holy Scripture, but most became known through their academic journals and publications. These

schools were often driven by intense foreign competition, due to rivalry between foreign powers and foreign religious denominations. These schools included the Catholic École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (commonly known as the École biblique), founded by Dominican friars in 1890, and a rival Jesuit school, the Pontifical Biblical Institute (also known as Biblicum), founded in 1909 as a research and postgraduate teaching institution specializing in biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies. Later in 1928 it was licensed by the Vatican to grant doctorates in affiliation with the Pontifical Gregorian University. Not to be outdone by the Dominicans and Jesuits in Palestine, the Franciscan friars in Palestine founded their own academic society in Jerusalem in 1924, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, as a centre of biblical and archaeological research and studies. Its main seat is the Flagellation Monastery in the Via Dolorosa in the Old City. Since 2001 this academy has been attached to Pontifical University Antonianum, the Franciscan university in Rome. Other archaeological and biblical schools include the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine (later renamed into the American Schools of Oriental Research), founded in 1900, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (later renamed the Kenyon Institute), established in 1919. Lesser-known foreign-funded theological schools, often influenced by Christian Zionism, include the Swedish Theological Institute, backed by the Lutheran Church of Sweden and closely associated with Lund University. In the post-1967 period, the Tantur Ecumenical Institute was founded in 1972 as an international ecumenical institute for advanced theological research in Jerusalem. Located on a 36-acre hill overlooking the route between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the property of Tantur is owned by the Vatican and leased to the Catholic University of Notre Dame in the United States for the administration of the institute.

9 HUMANISM AND ARAB *NAHDA* EDUCATION: KHALIL SAKAKINI AND REFORMING PALESTINIAN EDUCATION

The Dusturiyya School and the Socratic Method of Teaching

Conventionally, the abolition of corporal punishment in modern schools, as an issue of ethics, was understood with the objective of minimizing pain and suffering. Modern humanist approaches to education evolved across centuries and the struggles for a full ban on corporal punishment in schools and on hitting children continued into the twenty-first century. Surprisingly, school corporal punishment, by an implement such as a cane or a leather strap, or by smacking, was finally outlawed in the United Kingdom only in 1986. In late Ottoman Palestine and the British Mandatory period, many private, community and state schools were not only harshly disciplinarian and authoritarian in their approach to pupils but also used corporal punishment extensively. Wasif al-Jawhariyyeh (1897–1972), a Palestinian Jerusalemite (Arab Orthodox) composer, poet and chronicler of late Ottoman Palestine – known for *The Diaries of Wasif Jawhariyyeh*, which spans over six decades from 1904 to 1968 – described the tough disciplinary measures at the German Protestant School in Jerusalem: 'Thus was the injustice and despotism (*al-dhulm wal-istibdad*) during this period' (cited in Büssow 2011a: 69). Crucially, the student learning outcomes among the variety of schools of late Ottoman Palestine would have varied significantly from one school to another. However, after the Ottoman Constitutional Revolution of 1908 several community and private schools began to experiment with new approaches and several modern themes were incorporated into curricula. This pedagogy of 'liberty' (*huriyya*) and justice (*'adala*) included support for the Ottoman 'constitution' (*dustur*)

and constitutional government, rule of law, social and political reforms, female education, cultural justice and an emphasis on the use of Arabic in education and public life and raising the quality of vocational training. These experimental schools included the Rawdat al-Maʾarif Islamic school in Jerusalem, described in Chapter 8, the American Christian Friends School (Quakers) in Ramallah (founded in 1889) and the Madrasa al-Dusturiyya in Jerusalem. The latter was a private school founded by the 31-year-old Jerusalemite educator Khalil Sakakini, who had returned from the United States in the winter of 1908, following the Young Turk Revolution of July that year (Büssow 2011a: 69), which embraced constitutionalism, press freedom and decentralization for the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Tamari 2004: 117–32). The founding of private schools in late Ottoman Palestine was not uncommon. With the underfunding of public schools by the Ottoman authorities, the founding of private and community schools in Jerusalem and Beirut proliferated; in Jerusalem, for instance, three times as many students attended private schools as state schools (Campos 2011).

Born in Jerusalem, Sakakini had received his schooling at several educational institutions in the city. First, he attended an Arab Orthodox school and then private schools such as the Bishop Blyth College (of the Anglican Christian Missionary Society) in Jerusalem.[1] Sakakini also studied at the Mount Zion English College (Beška 2015: 40–53) and his private library contained many books of English literature (Othman 2016: 184). The post-1908 era was a revolutionary period and the founding of al-Dusturiyya School (the 'Constitutional School') in Jerusalem by Khalil Sakakini in 1909 was the high point of the educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine, a school that became an ideal model for many private schools in Palestine. This radically different school provided an alternative model for teaching and learning in structured education and curricula for modern private, secular secondary education in Palestine. During the Mandatory period the school was renamed the *al-Wataniyya School* (Fischbach 2005b: 119, 437; Schayegh 2017: 31), the 'National School', reflecting the rise in Palestinian nationalism during the Mandatory period. Born in the Old City of Jerusalem in 1878, Sakakini was one of the most influential Palestinian intellectuals of the first half of the twentieth century. His father served as the *mukhtar* of the local Arab Orthodox community. Sakakini was the epitome of the scholar-writer essayist-activist educationist and a great champion of humanist Arab *nahda* (renaissance) education. His professional career included being an editor, poet, political activist, essayist, writer, teacher, reformer of the educational system, civil servant and inspector of education during the British Mandatory period (Beška 2015: 40–53).

Before the First World War Sakakini published two books in Jerusalem: *Al-Ihtidhaʾ bi-Hidhaʾ al-Gheir* (Wearing Someone Else's Shoes) in 1896 and *Al-Nahda al-Urthudhuksiyya* (The Orthodox Awakening) in 1913. Sakakini also became one of the local leaders of the al-Nahda al-Urthudhuksiyya (Arab Orthodox Awakening) (Beška 2015: 40–53; Schayegh 2017: 82), a radical Arab cultural movement that sought to promote vernacularization and the Arabization of the

Greek-dominated hierarchy of the All Palestine Greek Orthodox Church and new Arabic cultural renaissance and enlightenment. This situation of Greek-dominated hierarchy of the Palestine Greek Orthodox Church had been sanctioned and even encouraged by the Ottomans; Sakakini and fellow advocates of the Arab Orthodox Awakening and the vernacularization of the Palestine Orthodox Church sought to recover and reclaim the leading role the Christian Arabs played for many centuries throughout early Islam and during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in the social and intellectual life of the oldest church of Palestine.

Sakakini's long teaching career was extensively documented in his handwritten diaries, which contain close to 3,500 pages (Beška 2015: 40–53; Tamari 2009: 113), written across many contexts: Ottoman, British, Zionist, Palestinian nationalist. The central themes of these diaries were *nahda* education, cultural and intellectual reawakening, liberty, patriotism, cultural identity, religious tolerance, education for women, human dignity and banning corporal punishment. Sakakini's position against corporal punishment in schools can also be seen from the Arabic tradition of Aristotelian philosophy of education of Ibn Miskawayh, which influenced Sakakini's philosophy of education, of minimizing emotional harm and maximizing emotional intelligence and the pleasures in learning practices. Also, more than 100 years ago Sakakini emphasized the importance of children being encouraged to 'read for pleasure'. Later Sakakini would also embrace another Aristotelian Arab classical tradition, which today we take for granted: the human agency in children's education. Today social agency is seen as a cornerstone of research in children's education, and in the Aristotelian classical sense of character education it was seen as the capacity of the individual to think and act in an autonomous way.

Following the overthrow of the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 – and with the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876, ushering in parliamentary politics – Khalil Sakakini returned from the United States and, after a short period of teaching Arabic at the Salahiyya School in Jerusalem, he introduced radically different teaching methods – unprecedentedly radical even by current Palestinian educational standards – at the Dusturiyya School, which he established in Jerusalem in 1909. A self-styled 'Socrates',[2] and an advocate of the 'Arab-Greek Orthodox Renaissance' (*al-Nahda al-Orthudhuksiyya*), Sakakini developed a keen interest in the Aristotelian Arab traditions of Greek philosophies and metaphysics and in what became known as the Socratic method, developed by the pupils of Socrates (*c.* 470–399 BC). Almost everything we know about the Greek philosopher Socrates, including the Socratic method, dialectical logic, Socrates' views of knowledge through questioning and self-knowledge, and that he knew enough to know that he knew very little, all came from Plato. 'The unexamined life is not worth living' is a famous dictum attributed to Socrates in Plato's *Apology* (1966: 38a5–6), a Socratic dialogue of the speech of legal self-defence that Socrates gave at his trial in Athens in 399 BC. 'Speaking truth to power' is a key theme used by moral intellectuals against oppressive regimes or an ideocracy. In classical Athens, 'speaking truth to power',

known as *parrhesia* (*παρρησία*, 'truth-force'), also meant to speak boldly and freely. It implied not only freedom of speech but the ethical obligation to speak the truth for the common good, even at personal risk. Yet searching for moral virtues, denouncing ignorance as evil and speaking the truth in 'democratic' Athens cost Socrates his own life; he was sentenced to death for corrupting the minds of the youth of Athens and for impiety: not believing in the gods of the Athenian city-state (Wallace 2004: 222–23). Yet, Socrates, as a moral philosopher, exerted an enormous influence on educators in antiquity and the modern era.

At a basic level the classical Socratic method of teaching is understood as follows: in order for the teachers to delve into their students' views, they would use the method of questioning students to bring out their own ideas and until any contradictions were exposed and potentially resolved. In a chaotic and disorderly world, this method of questioning received wisdom encourages students to re-examine their received knowledge and to resolve contradictions and differences by digging deeper, beyond the obvious and superficial. At a more sophisticated level of teaching, the classical dialectical methods of teaching through exposing contradictions, *Dialexeis* (with its 'two-fold arguments' and 'counter-arguments'), was central to advanced education in late antiquity in Palestine, especially at the rhetorical School of Gaza in the fifth to the sixth century. But there is no evidence to suggest that Sakakini was aware of the long history of dialectical methods at higher educational institutions in Byzantine (Orthodox) Palestine or was acquainted with the history of higher education at the rhetorical School of Gaza. But Sakakini's modern experimentation with progressive approaches to education in Palestine is as rich and compelling as any form of education throughout the long history of education in Palestine. Moreover, for Sakakini and many other free-thinking teachers before him, the moral obligation to speak the truth and the dictum 'the unexamined life is not worth living' exemplified the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom through questioning and logical argument, by examining and by dialectical thinking; it embodied the Socratic method, an antidote to dogmatism and fanaticism. As early as Plato, the dialectical method meant to achieve something positive by means of negation or counter-argument. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the original Platonic Academy of Athens was founded by an idealist in his approach to education and the question of reality, but who used dialectical methods and developed a sceptical approach to the possibility of knowledge. Often referred to as the 'Socrates dialogue' and the 'dialectical method', the 'Socratic method' was basically a dialectical (and dialogical) process whereby a thesis or an argument is put forward, then a counter-point (anti-thesis) is presented, and from this comes either a synthesis of the oppositional ideas producing new knowledge or a new thesis, which then becomes the start of a new dialectical process. However, while in modern critical social theory the negative critical-creative dialectical methods of learning rest with counter-ideas leading to new ideas, the original (ancient) *dialogical method* of Socrates was based on open-ended cross-fertilization of ideas and paradigms.

In modern critical social theory and critical literary theory different representations and applications of the dialectical and dialogical methods were made by Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Theodor Adorno and Edward Said. Adorno's critical theory and 'creative dialectics', which are central to his numerous works including the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* ([1947] 2002) and *Negative Dialectic* ([1966] 1990), which aimed at 'anti-system' or going beyond the formal Aristotelian logical limits of previous definitions of dialectics, had a major impact on the thinking of Said. The latter's secular humanist representation project was characterized, philosophically speaking, as a dialectical one (Spencer 2010: 389–413). In fact, the 'negative creative' ('anti-system') dialectical method became central to the critical theory of Edward Said and his *contrapuntal* reading (counter-point) used in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) to describe the relationship between dominant (establishment) and subjugated voices, and as a way of reading the displaced 'other' back into the text. The euphoria generated by the 1908 Revolution and Sakakini's own understanding of the 'Socratic method' as a form of anti-system 'negative dialectic' may have informed his own early rebellious approach to formal education and his educational experiments at the Dusturiyya School in Jerusalem in the post-revolutionary period.

For the Arab *nahda* thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rediscovering the essentials of the intellectual heritage of classical Islam in the Middle Ages was not about returning to traditionalism but about the creation of a new genuine internal Arab renaissance; the alternative was a superficial reactive modernism to the dominant Western context. Sakakini's humanist approach to education and learning practices evolved across time and was influenced by a mixture of multiple sources, including the idealism of the trans-Arabic *nahda* renaissance of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Arabic tradition of Aristotelian education of Ibn Miskawayh and radical progressive Arab renaissance (*nahdawi*) ideas. As an Aristotelian critical thinker, for Sakakini education was about lifelong learning. Critical of the then prevailing rigid educational system in Palestine and calling for new scientific and humanist approaches, his ideas and practices echoed European Renaissance revivalist humanist approaches to education. He pioneered humanist programmes of teaching and learning methods in Palestine and curricula that focused on body, mind and soul: natural philosophy and athletics, Arabic, English, French, Turkish, Arabic music, Quranic studies and physical education. Sakakini also believed that reformation of education in Palestine and politics were closely linked.

Sakakini's approach to education in Palestine in the liberal pre-First World War context and his experimental Socratic method of teaching and learning at Dusturiyya School were described as follows:

> Pupils of all creeds were accepted. Corporal punishment was eliminated, there were no exams, no marks or prizes; instead, both the teachers and pupils had to evaluate themselves. Moreover, if the pupils felt that the lesson was

not interesting, they could leave. In lieu of memorizing new vocabulary, the teacher taught new words by using them in various contexts. Moreover, Khalil al-Sakakini promoted the usage of a simple and modern language and opposed the artificial manneristic style. He exerted great efforts in order to modernize the teaching of Arabic. For that purpose he wrote a couple of books (*al-Jadid fi al-qiraʾa al-ʿarabiyya*, and *Wa ʿalayhi qiss*). Furthermore, physical exercise, walks in nature and visits to historical monuments were part of the curriculum. Already before the outbreak of WWI Khalil al-Sakakini had started evening courses for adults.

(Musallam, *Yawmiyyat Khalil al-Sakakini*, pp. 320, 328, cited in Beška 2015: 40–53; *Filastin*, 8 February 1913)

In addition to pioneering adult education in late Ottoman Palestine, which long anticipated the educational revolution of Paulo Freire in critical pedagogy, 'education for freedom' and critical consciousness (Freire 1970, 1973; Freire and Faundez 1989), central to Sakakini's teaching approach was the emphasis on human dignity and independent thinking. Salih Baransi (b.1928), who was taught by Sakakini at the al-Nahda College (*Kulliyyat al-Nahda*; 'Renaissance College') in Jerusalem, one of Palestine's best secondary schools, which was headed by Sakakini after its foundation in 1938 – a school that was open to all denominations and in which Muslims, Christians and Jews studied together (Furas 2020: 65; Klein 2014: 52) – had this to say:

Khalil al-Sakakini was a man it is impossible to forget. He was very influential in the moulding of the Palestinian character. He was interested not only in book-learning, but also in values and human character. I always remember him say: 'Before any of you learns 1+1=2, or that the subject is in the nominative, he must be a human being with dignity and independent character'.

(Baransi 1981: 1)

Learning for Pleasure and Character Education: Sakakini's Philosophy of Pleasure

Teaching and learning are often represented as intellectual, rational and matter-of-fact activities, with little attention to the emotional dimensions of learning. During and after the First World War Sakakini began to challenge this idealistic approach to learning and to develop his own less idealistic and more practical rational and emotional approaches to education and literacy in Palestine, including the idea of 'reading for pleasure' – an approach that was influenced by what became widely known in classical Islam as 'philosophy of *surur*'. Under classical Islam, with the expansion of the paper and book industry, literacy and, generally, leisure

activity and 'reading for leisure', the 'philosophy of joy' was first expounded by Ibn Miskawayh, a librarian-intellectual and a secretary in the courts of several *wazirs* and Sultans in Abbasid Baghdad. Soon this philosophy began to spread widely among Muslim intellectuals and Arab elites from Baghdad to Muslim Spain, and one famous exquisite palace built by al-Muqtadir, who ruled Taifa of Zaragoza, an independent Arab Muslim state in al-Andalus, in the eleventh century, was named *Dar al-Surur* (the 'House of Joy'). Sakakini's own *falsafat al-surur*, 'philosophy of joy', was interpreted by Palestinian scholar Salim Tamari as a hedonistic 'philosophy of pleasure' (Tamari 2009: 186–88). Interpreting this psychologically, Tamari attributed this 'philosophy of pleasure' to Sakakini's 'narcissistic character' (186) and egoistic hedonism. Tamari correctly related that overall Sakakini's philosophy of character education was influenced by a medieval Islamic work of ethics written by the moral philosopher and educationalist Ibn Miskawayh (AD 932–1030): *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* (Cultivation of Morals), translated into and published in English under the title *Refinement of Character*. Sakakini himself rightly attributed this 'philosophy of joy' (*falsafat al-surur*) to Ibn Miskawayh, who stated: 'Sorrow [unhappiness] is neither necessary nor natural. We should immerse ourselves in life and cherish it with celebrating our nights… we should indulge in music and singing. If disasters come our way, we should receive them courageously and prevent grief from consuming us' (Tamari 2009: 187; Willson 2013: 200). The famous extensive diary of Khalil Sakakini is one of the most important records of the evolution of Sakakini's philosophy of life as well as, crucially, of the concrete educational experiences of a highly influential Palestinian teacher. Salim Tamari cites Sakakini's entry of his diary of 13 April 1918 in which Sakakini describes what looks like an action strategy in pursuit of happiness – with a list of joyous activities and experiences all aimed at achieving 'happiness':

> I have the greatest pity for those who do not experience pleasure [*surur*] in their lives… I woke up having had the greatest joy during my sleep; I start my exercises with a great deal of sensuality; I bathe my body and find the greatest bliss engulfing my body in cold water; I eat as if the greatest reward comes from eating – even if it is a dry piece of bread. I smoke my *arghileh* and think that happiness lies in smoking; I read and write and enjoy what I have recorded; I take a walk and find great delight in walking; I sit and talk with my friends and find contentment in socializing with them. Even when I have problems, I find a great enjoyment in overcoming my travails. I face catastrophes with fortitude and experience a strange satisfaction from confronting them.
>
> (Tamari 2009: 187)

However, this account of Sakakini's diary can be viewed as a mixture of the descriptive and the normative. Like Ibn Miskawayh's *The Refinement of Character* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, it should be read experientially, normatively and contextually and as a strategy (or a plan of action) for maximizing emotional intelligence and 'achieving happiness', an enlightenment within what became

known to medieval Arab philosophers as 'happiness in the philosophy of ethics' ('*al-saʾada fi falsafat al-akhlaq*'). Emotional intelligence and the delight in (secular and church) music, Arabic poetry, listening to the melodic recitation of the Quran and all kinds of pleasures was Sakakini's take on Ibn Miskawayh's philosophy of character education. Sakakini's rebellious streak, his love of music and the pursuit of all kinds of *joie de vivre* – emotional, physical, sensual, social and intellectual – are much in evidence.

Crucially, Sakakini's philosophy of joy should be located in its Islamic Aristotelian philosophical moorings: 'in pursuit of practical happiness' and ethical hedonism. Furthermore, traditional concepts of education in Palestine and the Arab world were infamously disciplinarian and the opposite of enjoyment: often teachers turned up in classes with a cane or a leather strap and they often deployed corporal punishment (causing physical pain and lasting emotional unhappiness in students). Strongly objecting to these methods, Sakakini was an early advocate of modern happy schooling and viewed positive feedback and *positive reinforcement* by teachers of students as a mechanism that motivated students and achieved enjoyable education and happiness in life. His espousal of entertainment and enjoyment in education, in additional to intellectual activities, in schools and appreciation of cultural artefacts and school physical activities such as music, sports, art, dance, poetry and literature were not a product of egoistic hedonism; these were central to his Islamic Aristotelian 'philosophy of practical happiness' and ethical (normative) pleasure in life and education.

Sakakini's interest in rational classical Greek 'philosophies of happiness' – especially in pragmatic Aristotelian ethics as transmitted through medieval Islamic philosophies of ethics about the 'pleasure' driver in character education and happiness – and Platonic ideas of leisure, medieval Islamic 'philosophies of happiness' and practical ethics in education as well as in the modern ideas by Friedrich Nietzsche about the nexus of knowledge/power was much in evidence. A demonstrative logician and a great educational innovator, Aristotle embraced a pragmatic Greek version of liberal arts curriculum and combined this theory of pleasure, sensuality and practical ethics together with natural observational sciences, biology, botany and zoology, while Plato's idealist and famous text *Symposium*, which focuses primarily on reason, depicts a friendly contest by a group of men attending a banquet and giving speeches about idealism and 'Platonic love'. Sakakini's educational approach of an enjoyable and creative education and pleasure was pragmatic Aristotelian – not Platonic. Also this evolved from the radical idealism of the post-Young Turk Revolution of 1908 to the more pragmatic application of the Mandatory (colonial) period. His educational approaches were also derived from the adaptation of a range of ideas from diverse sources. But a key influence on Sakakini's approach was derived from Islamic and Arabic philosophies, primarily in the field of practical ethics and virtuous education as espoused by Ibn Miskawayh. A physician, historian and moral philosopher, Ibn Miskawayh was the author of an influential book on practical ethics and

education, written in Arabic specifically for students of Islamic schools of the time, entitled *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* (1968). Ibn Miskawayh, like Aristotle, saw pleasure as a major topic of ethics and character education. Inspired by Aristotelian concepts of ethics, character education and happiness, detailed in *Nicomachean Ethics*, and merged with Platonic ideas (Khan and Saleem 1994: 67), *The Refinement of Character* by Ibn Miskawayh, a guide to practical moral conduct, is considered one of the best statements of Islamic moral philosophies and rational education and, with its central emphasis on 'virtue' and refinement of character in education, *The Refinement of Character* encouraged the development of a whole genre of educational books for educating young men, young princes and would-be rulers under both classical Islam and the European Renaissance. Within the rational traditions of classical Islam, Ibn Miskawayh's approach was known as *al-saʾada fi falsafat al-akhlqa* (happiness in the philosophy of ethics). The great Muslim Shiʾite polymath and empiricist scientist Naṣir al-Din Ṭusi (d. AD 1274) – who studied different types of learning and behaviour and argued that observational learning was the most advanced form of learning – modelled his educational work *Akhlaq Naṣiri* (Naṣirean Ethics) on Ibn Miskawayh's *The Refinement of Character*. This genre of moral and character education books was also evident in the European Renaissance humanist text of Erasmus: *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516). Known by the sobriquet 'the tutor of Europe', Erasmus' work was used for centuries in modern European schools. This idealist Christian 'moral' character-based education is also evident in the educational approaches of missionary schools of Jerusalem, in which Sakakini's formative schooling took place.

The rediscovery of Ibn Miskawayh's *The Refinement of Character* during the Arab *nahda* period in the second half of the nineteenth century led to its wide circulation by the Arabic printing revolution of this period, especially following the publication of the text by the Egyptian scholar and publisher ʿAbd al-ʿAlim Salih al-Azhari (of al-Azhar college) by the Taraqqi Press in Cairo in 1905 (Ibn Miskawayh 1905) with a preface by a leading jurist of al-Azhar college. An editor and the publisher of several of Muhammad Abduh's works, Salih (like Sakakini) viewed *The Refinement of Character* as a first-class educational text for character education – a genre pioneered by Ibn Miskawayh and pursued by other medieval Islamic Aristotelian moral philosophers. Salih even dedicated Ibn Miskawayh's book to the then Ottoman Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamid II and to Egyptian ruler ʿAbbas Hilmi Basha (1874–1944). In 1968, an English translation of Ibn Miskawayh's work *The Refinement of Character* was made by Arab historian and educationalist Constantin Zurayk and published by the American University of Beirut.

Inspired and even modelled on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *The Refinement of Character* not only places Ibn Miskawayh as one of classical Islam's leading ethicists but also as one of its foremost educationalists: practical moral philosopher, historian and codifier of the science of practical moral education (*tahdhib, tarbiya, adab*) (Radez 2019). Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* deals with moral character education (Greek: *ēthikē aretē*) and its proper development in the acquisition

of the right habits and excellence (*virtue*) directed towards the right ends, such as happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*); for Aristotle, happiness was an activity, or a state of 'actualized' activities, including doing the right thing (virtuous action) at the right time, which was likely to bring happiness (Aristotle 2009; Markel and Madvin 2012; Sabou 2018). Aristotle also regarded excellent moral conduct as 'joyous' for the educated character. Likewise, Ibn Miskawayh's text (and Sakakini's philosophy of happiness) also focuses on the actualized aspects of ethics and cultivated moral character education and the cultivation of character via positive reinforcement. Known to medieval Islamic moral and empiricist philosophers as the 'First Teacher', Aristotle went to great lengths to explain how moral teachers should emphasize character education and encourage observational learning to enable children to acquire the right habits, virtue included. In this pedagogy of the 'right habits' and character formation, children develop through observational learning skills and critical reading of common social situations, assisted by deliberation and collaborative thinking (Wren 2007: 14–18).

Embracing a popular interpretation of Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas about knowledge, power and self-empowerment (Tamari 2009: 186) and drawing on Ibn Miskawayh's character education and his Aristotelian approach to 'practical happiness' and pleasure, and a mix of ideas about how being positive reinforces a virtuous life and education, Sakakini sought to develop a 'philosophy of pragmatic happiness' coupled with pleasure and daily leisure activities. Sakakini's philosophy of happiness was also in line with the pleasure he took in music, *argileh* smoking and socializing, and all this brought him to spend a great deal of time in Jerusalem's coffee houses, the centre of café culture in late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine and a key space of public life and for sharing news and gossip. One coffee house, founded in 1918 within the Old City of Jerusalem and called Mukhtar's Café, became known by Sakakini and his circle as *Maqha al-Saʾaleek* or 'Vagabond Café' ('Café of Bandits'), the manifesto of which he published in 1925; containing eighteen articles, the manifesto reflected his 'philosophy of pleasure' (Tamari 2009: 185; Willson 2013: 200). The concept of *saʾaleek* refers to pre-Islamic Arab bandits and rebel poets who fought for social justice and is deeply rooted in Arab mythology, folklore and literature, and the term finds echoes in Eric Hobsbawm's *Bandits* (1969) and *Primitive Rebels* (1959) – the coffee house near Jaffa Gate of the Old City of Jerusalem became associated with Sakakini's circle of 'vagabonds' and 'bandits' (local Muslim, Christian and Jewish intellectuals) in Jerusalem, before, during and immediately after the First World War (Tamari 2003b, 2004); he also later gathered around him a group of like-minded rebels at Piccadilly Café on Mamilla Street (Klein 2014: 52).

Emotional intelligence and music were central to Sakakini's philosophy of pleasure and sensuality in education and pedagogical approaches – music would also become an important part of Edward Said's educational approach and critical pedagogical theories. Musical education was connected to Sakakini's philosophy of pleasure in education, his love of music and his nonhierarchical

conception of educational knowledge. All these themes were also linked to Sakakini's appreciation of aurality/orality in Arab culture and his love of secular and religious music, and he had a special fondness for the al-ʿoud – as previously mentioned in Chapter 5, an old Arab and Andalusian musical instrument that was borrowed by Iberian Christians and later became known in Europe as the lute – and violin, and his home had a piano (Othman 2016: 184; Tamari 2005: 33). Music and singing were also part of Sakakini's plan for the curriculum of the Arab College in Jerusalem, while serving as its first Director in 1919–20 (Davis 2003: 193).

For any new radical or experimental pedagogical methods to succeed they have to be rooted in historical and cultural contexts and the context of their societies. Sakakini understood that any Arabic pedagogical revolution had to be related to the importance of the 'sounds' of written Arabic within the context of the powerful aural/oral cultures of Arab societies. Drawing on this powerful living aural heritage, the orality-aurality of Arabic, even in its scripted *fusha* (literary) forms, was one of its defining characteristics. 'It is this orality and aurality that breathes life into *fusha* words' (Suleiman 2011: 105). Evidently, Sakakini appreciated the significance of *orality-aurality* in Palestinian culture, poetry and music and knew that for centuries the *orality-aurality* of Quranic instruction had been the basis of Arabic instruction in Arab society, and he also appreciated the high level of classical Arabic eloquence and the style, music and aurality and sounds of Quranic Arabic. Palestinian musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh, the 'storyteller of Jerusalem', describes his classroom experience at the Dusturiyya School in his diary:

> Professor al-Sakakini decided to give Christian pupils the opportunity to read the Quʾran, if they chose to. Encouraged by my late father, I seized the opportunity with both hands… So I learned the Quʾran from the subject teacher, Sheikh Amin al-Ansari, who was an illustrious figure in Jerusalem. Professor al-Sakakini was of the opinion that the essence of the Arabic language, particularly elocution, consisted in the ability to perform classical reading of the Quran. I took these classes along with my brothers and many of my Muslim Jerusalemite classmates… I am most grateful to this opportunity for the impact it had on my life, particularly with regard to singing and Arabic music, for I felt proud of my pronunciation when I sang nuwashahat, and more so when singing poems, in the presence of the masters of the Arabic language.
>
> (Jawhariyyeh quoted in Tamari and Nassar 2014: 76–7 and Tamari 2005: 33)

Sakakini also believed that the social, cultural and political contexts of teaching and learning practices are crucial (Alshwaikh 2014a). Although it is not easy to assess the student experience and learning outcomes at the Dusturiyya School, Wasif Jawhariyyeh also attributed his mastery of Arabic music and singing to his learning experience at the Dusturiyya School (Jawhariyyeh cited in Tamari

and Nassar 2014: 74–5 and Tamari 2005: 33). Sakakini was highly critical of the gerontocratic clerical establishment and authoritarian education in Palestine. In a radical departure from an authoritarian pedagogical system in which generations of students were asked to memorize texts and poetry under the watchful eyes of a stick-carrying teacher, Sakakini's Aristotelian education and reformist agenda meant (scholarly) 'elite' (excellence) without elitism; (pedagogical) authority without authoritarianism or corporal punishment – an approach that was espoused half a century later by Brazilian critical educator Paulo Freire; an approach which even the current Palestinian educational system in the West Bank and Gaza has continued to struggle with. Speaking about his pedagogical experiments with nonhierarchical learning practices and the advantages of his Dusturiyya School, Sakakini had this to say in 1911:

> The principles upon which the school is based include honour of the pupil rather than humiliation; growth rather than regression; and an increase in freedom rather than in restrictions. In addition, there will be no punishment, no rewards, and no grades.
>
> (Alshwaikh 2014a)

Modern liberal and progressive education places student experiences (which encompass aspects of intellectual and professional development, social and emotional growth and the nurturing of critical, social, cultural, civic and artistic skills) at the heart of the pedagogical process. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, describing his own academic, artistic and social experiences at the Dusturiyya School, noted in his diary:

> Mr. al-Sakakini taught us Arabic in a way that was very popular with the students. He used a method which, to my knowledge, few teachers in the East liked to use. He did not make students memorize rules of grammar like most teachers used to do, but instead would give them a short sentence in which he had combined all the relevant rules of grammar and conjugation, without resorting to course books. His lessons included anecdotes which the students of this great educator received with eagerness and excitement. For with him they were able to understand what it took them long hours to grasp with other teachers. He instilled in them patriotism and manliness. He valued honesty, virtue, and his integrity and humanity knew no boundaries. He always told us to look after our bodies, reminding us of the saying 'a sound mind in a sound body' and urged us to keep exercising regularly… Having chosen to name his school the 'Dusturiyyeh,' or National, School, al-Sakakini was the first to ban corporal punishment in education, and this wise stance spread to other schools. Whenever he noticed the slightest inappropriate conduct on the part of a student, particularly on the moral level, notwithstanding his fatherly love for the pupil in question, he went berserk and pulled on an angry face, frightening the student who had the utmost respect and esteem for him and who would

then amend his behavior immediately. There is no doubt that he instilled high values in his students, and was an exemplary teacher and educator.

(Jawhariyyeh quoted in Tamari and Nassar 2014: 75)

A nonconfessional institution, the curriculum of the Dusturiyya School (in which Muslim, Christian and Jewish pupils were taught together) embodied the new progressive aspirations and dreams of Sakakini and other progressive Palestinian intellectuals of late Ottoman Palestine: of promoting liberty, mass literacy, academic excellence, religious tolerance, an Arab cultural renaissance, constitutionalism and good government under the law (Büssow 2011a: 69–70; Schayegh 2017: 31). These aspirations and the Dusturiyya School were embraced enthusiastically by the Jaffa-based *Falastin*, the most important Palestinian newspaper of the period. Similar aspirations were also embraced by the al-Nahda School, co-founded and directed by Sakakini from 1938 onwards. However, the more ambitious dreams of Sakakini were soon to be thwarted by a combination of forces, especially the rise of supremacist European Zionist settler-colonialism in British-run Mandatory Palestine and the devastating Palestinian Nakba of 1948.

Sakakini, Linguistic Reforms and the Textbook Revolution

The educational revolution of late Ottoman Palestine also produced a revolution in the study and teaching of Arabic. Sakakini's intellectual ambitions were not confined to Palestine and he knew that the Arabic traditions of learning were always transnational. In particular, he has left an indelible mark on both Palestine's educational system and the whole Arab world, and the Arabic linguistic revolution, in his textbooks and literary pieces (Ayalon 2004: 66). Sakakini contributed to the nurturing of secular humanist education in Palestine and the Arab region and played an important role in the revolution/evolution of modern standard Arabic, or modern written Arabic. The variety of standardized literary Arabic used in books, newspapers, literature, poetry and academic settings was developed in the Arab world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It draws on, but also differs from, heritage classical Arabic, the variety of standard (*fusha*) Arabic in the Quran and early Islamic (seventh- to eleventh-century) literature.

Sakakini was a member of the Cairo-based Academy of Arabic Language (Mujama' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya), serving on several of its committees (IslamKotob n.d.: 73–4). His numerous textbooks and publications on the renewal, revamping and simplification of Arabic teaching in schools[3] gained wide recognition in the Arab region. Palestinian authors and novelists Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1920–94) and Emile Habiby (1922–96) pointed to being influenced in their youth by primary school textbooks such as *Ras, Rus* produced by Sakakini. These made Arabic accessible to children, easy to learn, and revolutionized and popularized Arabic literacy and the reading of Arabic by the public (Boullata 2010a: 93; Habibi

2006: 131; Jabra 1995: 168). A radical and progressive pedagogue, Sakakini – as seen in his long educational career from the late Ottoman to the late Mandatory period, at the Dusturiyya School, the al-Nahda School and the Arab College – revolutionized the study of Arabic and introduced new methods of teaching it. He revamped the teaching of Arabic grammar by updating it and simplifying its basic rules and terms. Sakakini's pioneering work provided a precedent for today's 'plain language campaigns' by groups fighting for, for instance, plain English in public communication and opposition to gobbledygook, jargon and legalese. He freed standard Arabic from its excessive medieval 'ornamental elaborations' and rigid trappings, which had confined it to relatively narrow literary and intellectual circles and religious elites, coining new terms and making the language 'crisp and intimate', and simplifying it for 'new generations of children' and for mass literacy (Tamari 2003a, b, 2009: 2) and mass Arabic literacy – which, according to one account, had reached about 30 per cent of school-age children in the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem by 1908 (Büssow 2011a: 55–80). This advent of mass literacy of late Ottoman Palestine expanded phenomenally in the twentieth century, and today literacy among Palestinians over the age of fifteen in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, is – despite Palestine's state of siege – among the highest in the world at close to 97 per cent. Also, the progressive and dynamic revolution of simplifying and modernizing Arabic and bringing literary Arabic closer to vernacular Palestinian Arabic, an approach to the 'word' designed to lead people to think critically of the 'world' and to 'read' the society around them in order to take positive action for change and cultural *nahda*, continued in the revivalist musical and modern poetry of Mahmoud Darwish (1941–2008). The same revivalist radical legacy has continued to influence generations of Palestinian and Arab intellectuals and educators.

Sakakini's critical legacy of education is also currently celebrated in the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre (KSCC) in Ramallah. Originally established in 1996, KSCC is a Palestinian arts and cultural NGO dedicated to nurturing a pluralistic environment and critical cultural debates in Palestine. At the same time the 120-year-old Khalil Sakakini Preparatory School for Girls in the Old City of Jerusalem, dating from a school established in Ottoman Jerusalem in 1892, and later known as al-Qadisiyya School, is under threat of closure by the Israeli authorities.

10 LEARNING FROM BELOW: THE *KUTTAB* SCHOOLS IN PALESTINE (MUSLIM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN)

'Islamic schools' is a generic term for a huge variety of pre-modern and modern educational institutions, including *madrasas*, *maktab*, *kuttabs*, *jami* schools, *mahdara* schools and advanced law colleges. However, in the medieval Islamic world, the elementary school was known as the *maktab*, while the *madrasa* referred to a higher educational institution (colleges and seminaries). Islamic schools evolved historically and continue to do so. Traditionally, like the Hellenistic educational institutions in Byzantine Palestine, there were two basic levels of pre-modern formal Islamic education in Palestine: *elementary* and *higher* education – the latter centring on the colleges of medieval Islamic Jerusalem (see Chapter 5) and the religious seminary of al-Ahmadiyya in Acre (see Chapter 7). For many centuries, the key higher education institution of Egypt, the Azhar college, also provided higher education to many members of the leading and privileged Palestinian urban families. Within the multicultural urban life of Islamic Palestine, Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities practised their own religious beliefs and enjoyed communal self-government, but they also intermingled on a daily basis and practised shared social traditions, the elementary kuttabs in Palestine included.

Primitive Schools?

Ibn Sina and the *Maktab* Schools

Many of the historical accounts of education in Palestine and the Near East have been dominated by top-down, elite-centred modernization and secular nationalist

elites who tended to dismiss subaltern groups and their popular and Islamic 'traditional' school system – a system that operated outside the dominant secular elites. These historical accounts of education dichotomize 'old' (Islamic) versus 'new' (modern, secular, Western) education. The Quranic and *kuttab* schools in Palestine and the popular classes of the 'pre-modern' Middle East are often seen as largely untouched by modern ideas of literacy and as passive recipients of change, with the impact of modernity viewed as affecting first and foremost intellectuals and elite education. Furthermore, modern secular rebellions against Islamic traditions and the decline of the Quranic and *kuttab* school system and its eventual integration within the massively expanded national public education system after the 1948 Nakba have all contributed to the ambiguous accounts of the kuttabs and the lack of appreciation shown by historians toward them.

In the medieval Arabic and Islamic worlds, the maktab and kuttab schools, which were often conflated with Quranic schools, played a foundational role in the history of Islamic public education and in learning 'from below'. In the eighth to the tenth century the *maktab* (or *kuttab*) elementary school, which often educated both male and female children, was either attached to a local mosque or in a room in the house of the teacher, where the teacher and his wife took care of the boys and girls separately (Mirbabaev 2003: 33–4). However, the unfavourable treatment of the kuttab and maktab schools in modern secular accounts often reflects the modern prejudices of the authors who treated the 'traditional' kuttabs and maktabs as primitive schools, an attitude that echoes their treatment of the Palestinian *fallahin* as 'ignorant peasants'. Evidently, the maktab and kuttab elementary schools played a seminal role in public Islamic education, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries, before the rise of the more advanced and more organized higher education colleges (*madrasas*) from the mid-eleventh century onwards. During the Abbasid Revolution of classical Islam in the eighth to the tenth century the frequent reference to, and appreciation of, the maktab and kuttab schools shows that they served as foundational educational institutions and as the antecedents for the more sophisticated Islamic higher education of the eleventh century onwards (Totah 1926: 16). Crucially, the existence and spread of these seminal Abbasid-era schools show how Islamic higher education began to develop 'from below'. Tenth-century Arabic litterateur Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, author of *Kitab al-Aghani* (The Book of Songs), an encyclopaedic collection of twenty volumes of poems and songs, and an important historical and literary source of classical Islam, mentions maktabs and kuttabs as important schools in Kufa, Iraq (16). Al-Jaḥiẓ (776–869), an Arab prose writer and author of works of literature, who advised students to follow their own bent in education, also used the term *kuttab* for 'school' (16, 88) and the Abbasid Caliph al-Muʾtasim (796–842) – who was famously backed by the powerful chief *qadi* of Baghdad in his support for the rationalist Islamic philosophy of Muʾtazilin – is said to have attended a kuttab (16).

The elementary maktabs, in particular, flourished during the Abbasid period and continued into the Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. In the

first half of the eleventh century, shortly before the rise of the higher education madrasas of Islam, a highly ambitious guide for maktab teachers was written by the polymath Ibn Sina (980–1037), known to the Latin West as Avicenna, whose writings had a huge impact on Latin scholasticism and early European universities in the high Middle Ages. Regarded as one of the most important intellectuals, physicians and writers of the golden age of Islam, Ibn Sina's rationalistic writings and educational philosophies were influenced by Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophies.

Commenting on the basic methods of teaching and learning in the maktab in one of his works, Ibn Sina wrote 'The Role of the Teacher in the Training and Upbringing of Children' as a normative guide for teachers and also as an attempt to structure progression in, and to professionalize, the largely informal maktabs. In ancient and medieval times, the children of wealthy people were often educated at home. Emphasizing the importance of multiple literacies in primary and higher education and the experience of 'learning together', youth group learning and observation as foundational to knowledge, Ibn Sina believed that the knowledge children acquire in youth could be more profound than that of later life; that children learn better if they are taught in classes rather than in isolation by private tutors, which would be tiresome for both pupils and tutors; he also cited the value of a group learning with and from each other and through competition, as well as the importance of the context of group discussion and debates. Even though learning occurs in the context of a group of learners, it is done by individual learners. Interactions with other students can motivate students and stimulate creative and critical thinking. Prefiguring the development of modern critical secondary education, Ibn Sina suggested ambitious curricula for maktab schooling, which involved the progression and division of education into two distinct stages: elementary schooling (between ages six and fourteen) and secondary schooling (from age fourteen to eighteen). The curriculum for the elementary stage should include reading and writing, learning the Quran, Islamic ethics, Arabic, *adab* (literature), Islamic metaphysics, and vocational and practical skills.

Ibn Sina became a physician at the age of sixteen and would later become the foremost Muslim physician in the Middle Ages – his book *Kitab Qanun fi Tibb* (*The Canon of Medicine*) was a medical textbook in European medical schools and universities until the seventeenth century. He stressed the importance of teaching medicine and sciences in the curriculum of the secondary stage of education: students would be provided with a specialization in subjects such as medicine, *abab* (culture combined with a literary genre with broad humanitarian concerns), preaching, mathematics, geometry, geography, trade and commerce, and craftsmanship. Ibn Sina's practical approach emphasized the teaching of crafts and employment over the riskier commerce and trade. These craft lessons should begin immediately after the completion of Quranic studies and basic Arabic grammar, since 'the master of a craft, no matter what the circumstances, will always find a use for his skills' (Mirbabaev 2003: 34–5).

Generally, medieval maktabs and kuttabs taught a range of subjects and transferable skills, such as Arabic reading and writing and the memorization of the Quran, arithmetic, Arabic poetry, prayer and purification rituals, while the advanced law colleges (see Chapter 5) were endowed boarding colleges of higher education that taught jurisprudence, Quranic exegesis, Hadith, prudence, theology, Arabic grammar, logic, dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic and a range of secular subjects. Furthermore, less formal education was available from lodges for Sufi teachers, literary circles, princely courts, private tutors and apprenticeships in state bureaus and craftsmen's shops (Esposito 2004: 73, s.v. 'Education'). The elementary Islamic schools varied in the quality of education; some provided rudimentary literacy and others high-quality Quranic schooling. The standard and quality of Quranic schools varied from one period to another and from the towns to the villages; many Quranic schools in Palestine had highly educated teachers and graduates of the Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre and some had elementary arithmetic added to their course of study.

Although mass literacy is a modern phenomenon and pre-modern societies were dominated by aural/oral traditions, urban literacy centred on urban civilization and urban elites is an ancient phenomenon. Urban civilization (*hadara*) – as opposed to '*badawa*' or pastoralism – was also central to Ibn Khaldun's conception of literacy and educational achievements. By the time of Ibn Khaldun, the Islamic world had boasted a huge range of schools and academies in the vast urban, rural and mixed-*badawa* regions of this world. For instance, the semi-arid pastoral regions of North Africa and the Middle East boasted a particular type of non-sedentary travelling Islamic school, which in the particular case of Mauritania was called *mahdara* – literally a 'civilizing' travelling Islamic literacy-cum-fiqh school adapted to the social and ecological circumstances of non-sedentary mixed-*badawa* environments. However, in a society like Palestine where aural/oral traditions dominated many aspects of ordinary people's lives, especially in the countryside, the elementary kuttab (as a lower elementary school) remained the most common type of nongovernment Muslim village school in Mandatory Palestine (1918–48) (Tibawi [1956] 1972: 56). Lasting for centuries until the 1948 Nakba, this type of kuttab schooling has largely disappeared from Palestine under the impact of modern secular schooling and mass literacy.

Crucially, in Muslim-majority Ottoman Palestine (1516–1917) and especially before Palestine's literacy revolution of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the vast majority of the schools in rural Palestine and many in urban Palestine, where most of the population resided, were the elementary kuttab and Quranic schools. Often located in one or two rooms and providing elementary levels of education, the elementary *kuttab* (Arabic: 'writing school') differed greatly from the higher academic and sophisticated law colleges of Jerusalem which flourished during the Ayyubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. Even though a significant number of Quranic schools were also widespread in Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities – as is evident from the archival documents of the register

of the Islamic Sharia Court of Jerusalem – the kuttabs were an important vehicle of rural education in the predominantly peasant society of Palestine. The Arabic name *kuttab* is also linked to the fact that in one verse the Quran refers to itself as a *kitab*, or book.

With their fairly limited curricula and distinct from the academically more advanced law colleges of Islamic Jerusalem, the kuttabs provided elementary literacy for boys, generally aged seven to twelve years old. Highly disciplined, with corporal punishment and flogging for some serious misdemeanours, the kuttabs in Palestine (and the Near East/North Africa) were originally attached to a mosque and aimed at schooling the youth in the Quran. Historically, rote memorization was a distinctive feature of Quranic dogmatic instruction of the kuttabs. Teaching was delivered in the traditional method in which pupils were seated in a semi-circle (*halqa*) around a shaykh. The kuttab's curriculum consisted primarily of reading and writing, Arabic grammar, memorizing the Quran and learning the fundamentals of Islamic belief. The kuttab shaykh taught boys in the morning to recite and memorize passages from the Quran. In the afternoon, boys would learn to read and write, study Islamic prayers and rituals, and, crucially, study Arabic grammar and poetry. The kuttabs were also visited by adults to consult the respected shaykh on religious matters or to obtain a written letter or document. Studying and memorizing the Quran and Arabic poetry were among the greatest contributions of the kuttabs to the basic Arabic literacy of rural Palestine.

The Palestine Muslim kuttabs had their Christian and Jewish equivalents (Ayalon 2004: 26; Geva-Kleinberger 2009: 16–23) and for the majority of Palestinian Muslims, Christians and Jews who attended the kuttabs this was their main schooling; few went on to expand their education in higher educational institutions (Ayalon 2004: 26). However, beginning in the mid to late nineteenth century, secular studies were introduced in many kuttabs, especially in cities, and these schools began to face major challenges from new modern-style primary (private and public) schools in Palestine, and eventually their functions were taken over and expanded in the twentieth century by state-funded public elementary schools and state-funded educational systems (Huffaker 2009: 437).

The Jewish Kuttab and Jewish Learning in an Arab Environment: Tiberias

The distinct and shared traditions of the kuttab applied to Arabic-speaking Muslims, Christians, Jews and Samaritans in Palestine, and the Arab kuttabs in the country, which provided a wide form of literacy, with a Quranic emphasis until the late Ottoman period – in the Mandatory period many of the kuttabs were reformed and even expanded – had their Christian and Jewish equivalents: a 'rudimentary' form of education and training with religious emphasis, which differed from the Muslim kuttab schools in the contents of the texts taught in them, but not in their basic objectives (Ayalon 2004: 26, 32; Epstein 1945: 198).

Jewish kuttabs, with an emphasis on the study of the 'Jewish *mushaf*', were found in Tiberias; founded in Roman Palestine and known by its Greek name Τιβεριάς, Hellenized Tiberias (Arabic: Tabariyyah) was an important regional capital for Galilee under the Romans and an important centre of rabbinical Jewish religious learning. Culturally and religiously a mixed city, Tiberias was also the regional capital of Galilee at the time of Jesus of Nazareth and would remain a key Palestinian centre of learning, trade, caravanserais, the silk industry and leisure activities for several centuries to come. Under early Islam, Tiberias regained its position as a prosperous mixed city and became the capital of the Arab province of Jund al-Urdun (Masalha 2018: chs 4 and 6). Jund al-Urdun included most of Galilee and some territories in Transjordan. Under Islam, Tabariyyah was famous as a multicultural, hedonistic and leisure city and as an important health centre in Palestine – situated in the proximity of many natural thermal springs and hot health baths. An oasis for healing and spiritual cleansing, the natural health springs and thermal baths induced the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I (AD 705–15) to construct a palace, a mosque and a steam room at 'Ayn Minyat Hisham' (also archaeologically known as Khirbat al-Minyar), located about 200 metres west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. An inscription on a stone found on the site mentions the name al-Walid. The discovery of Mamluk pottery in 1959 suggests that the palace was used, possibly as a caravanserai for merchants, at the crossroads between Damascus and Cairo, during the late Mamluk period (fourteenth to fifteenth century) (Petersen 2002a: 150; 2002b: 220–22).

The language of Jesus of Nazareth, whose ministry began in the region of Tiberias, was Palestinian Aramaic. Hebrew at the time of Jesus was largely an extinct language, with the Jews of Palestine speaking Aramaic, and Hebrew being confined to liturgical uses. Closely related to Arabic, Palestinian Aramaic was the main vernacular speech of the country; Aramaic would also influence the evolution of Palestinian vernacular Arabic. During the gradual Arabization of Palestine and under Islam, Tiberias emerged as an important seat of religious learning for Arab-Judaism, and ancient Hebrew – then a language of liturgy (*leshon hakodesh:* 'holy tongue') rather than a day-to day spoken language – was codified in Tabariyyah under the globalizing impact of Arabic and Islam.

As we have already seen, a *mushaf*, an Arabic word for a codex or collection of sheets, is popularly used by Muslims to refer to a written copy of the Quran, while the Arabic name *kuttab* is related to the fact that the Quran refers to itself as a *kitab*, or book. Jewish kuttabs existed in Palestine (including Jerusalem and Tiberias) and other Palestinian cities (Ayalon 2004: 26; Geva-Kleinberger 2009: 17–23; Hamarneh 1996) and Egypt throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern period. Furthermore, for many centuries Arabic-speaking Jews from Tiberias called the Torah (Jewish Bible) *mushaf*, an Arabic term reserved by the Arabs for the Quran (Geva-Kleinberger 2009: 17), a tradition, as Moshe Gil's *A History of Palestine: 634–1099* shows, that was embraced by Arab Jews in Palestine and Egypt in the Middle Ages (Gil 1997: 196). Another Arabic term, *al-Kanis*, a

Jewish synagogue, was used by the Arab-Jews of Tiberias. The Jewish elementary school in Tiberias was called a *kuttab*, the term used for elementary Muslim mosque schools and 'borrowed from their Muslim neighbour' (Geva-Kleinberger 2009: 16, 23), and *Palestina* was used for Palestine (23). The existence of Jewish kuttabs was not confined to rabbinical Judaism; Qaraite kuttabs also existed in the medieval Arab East (Rustow 2008: 132).

This shared heritage between Palestinian Arab-Muslims and Palestinian Arab-Jews and the syncretic Arab-Jewish tradition of learning is much evident in the works of Maimonides, who is widely recognized as Judaism's greatest theologian (Leibowitz 1987: 68), an Arabic medieval rationalist philosopher, and the most illustrious example of the golden age of Arabo-Islamic-Judaic symbiosis in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In Maimonides' code the *Mishneh Torah*, compiled between 1170 and 1180, while he was living in Fatimid Egypt, he describes the religious duty of a Jewish father to teach his son the Torah and the obligation of a community to support a local elementary school also known by its Arabic name *maktab*, in which Aramaic and Arabic, in addition to the Torah, were studied (Frank 2006: 223). In Iran, elementary Jewish (day) schools were still called *maktab* until the First World War – while the Hebrew (Talmudic) term *midrash* was reserved for evening classes (Patai 1997: 210).

Modern Arab historians have not only tended to portray Maimonides (Jewish: Ibn Maimun) as a product of the Arabic-Islamic-Jewish culture of the Middle Ages but have also assessed his work within the wider context of the chronicles of Arab history itself. In *History of the Arabs*, Philip Hitti, while acknowledging Maimonides' Jewish background, included him in the influential group of 'Spanish Arab physicians who were physicians by avocation and something else by vocation', and called him Abu ʿImran Ibn Maimun, the Arabic form of his name. 'For first place after Ibn Rushd [Averroes, 1126–98] among the philosophers of the age the only candidate is his Jewish contemporary and fellow Cordovan . . . Maimonides . . ., the most famous of the Hebrew physicians and philosophers of the whole Arabic epoch' (Hitti 1956: 576, 584–85). Several Arab authors and academics describe Musa Ibn Maimun as an Arab-Muslim thinker and philosopher (Omran 1980: 18, 23–4; Pines 1985).

Maimonides, his son Abraham, Saʾadya Gaon and many other famous rabbinical Jewish personalities were products of the golden age of the 'Arabic–Judaic culture' of the Middle Ages and the embodiment of its Arabic scholarly enlightenment (Goitein [1955] 1974: 70–1, 93). Maimonides was born in 1135 in Cordoba, the capital of Arabic Andalusia (Muslim Spain) ruled by the Umayyad Caliphs – then by far the most enlightened country in Europe. It was a magnificent seat of Arabic culture, philosophy and sciences. His family left the country in the aftermath of the conquest of Cordoba by the Islamic sect of al-Muwahhids (Almohades), and lived some time in Fez in Morocco. In his thirties, he emigrated to Fustat, where he lived most of his life, dying in Egypt in 1204. Apparently, his body was later taken by his followers to Palestine and buried in Tiberias – not in Jerusalem.

In the Middle Ages as a whole, the position of Jews under Arab Islam and in Palestine was far better than that of the Jews in medieval Christian Europe (Goitein [1955] 1974: 84). Medical professionals in Muslim countries were held in high esteem and Jewish doctors are known to have been court physicians to Caliphs and other Muslim rulers in practically every Muslim country. Reading Arabic sources on the history of medicine, for example, Ibn Abi ʿUsayba, a colleague of Abraham (Maimonides' son and successor), was impressed by the spirit of true fellowship that bound together the doctors of various denominations of that time (Goitein [1955] 1974: 70–1). Maimonides was the most important Jewish medieval physician under Islam and his medical books were all written in Arabic. He served as a physician to the Ayyubid Sultans (Hitti 1956: 584; Lewis 1973: 166–76) and became a member of a group of Arabic thinkers in the Islamic world who took on board the methodology of Aristotle and applied it to difficult conceptual issues in interesting and perceptive ways (Leaman 1990: x). Maimonides was highly influenced by the philosophical writings of Ibn Sina and al-Farabi, two of the great and most famous rationalist medieval Muslim philosophers, and his philosophy was a grandiose attempt at a synthesis between the Jewish faith (a monotheistic 'revealed' faith) and rational Greek-Arabic traditions of Aristotelian learning. Former Cambridge historian and Orientalist Erwin Rosenthal states:

> The talmudic age apart, there is perhaps no more formative and positive period in our long and chequered history than that under the empire of Islam from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean … The basic tenets of Judaism, its formative concepts and ideas, were combined into a system intended to sustain the Jews, to demonstrate their distinctiveness, to secure survival and to instill hope and expectancy of redemption. The form of this exposition was largely borrowed from Muslim theology and religious philosophy. Even the newly-developing codification of the *Halachah* and the *Responsa*-literature of the Gaonin owe their form to Muslim patterns.
>
> (Rosenthal 1961: ix–xi)

For Maimonides the Jewish relationship to Jerusalem resembled the Muslim relationship to Hijaz and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also distinguished himself as an astronomer, a physician and, above all, a rational philosopher, and he became the most illustrious example of the Arabic-Islamic-Judaic symbiosis of the late Middle Ages. Today he is generally recognized as both the most important codifier of Jewish law and as one of the most radical philosophers of the Islamic world. Perceived as the pinnacle of Jewish scholarship and sagacity over the ages, Maimonides was linked in Jewish folk sayings to Moses himself. Moses bestowed the *Torah* and Maimonides gave the *Torah Mishneh*, the second or additional legal code, by which Orthodox Jews have conducted their normative religious life for the last 800 years. In the modern era, Maimonides also became a hero in Reform Judaism.

Maimonides' philosophy drew freely and copiously from Muslim patterns, and he must have regarded Islam as being from the flesh and bones of Judaism (Goitein

[1955] 1974: 130). This intellectual renaissance created a new philosophic theology (*kalam*, in Arabic; *mutakallimun*, Muslim and Jewish theologians) designed to make religious law and philosophy coincide: to rationalize divine Revelation and show that it was in harmony with logic and the natural order. The most basic aspect of the Arab-Jewish symbiosis was the fact that a great majority of the Jews adopted the Arabic language, while Hebrew not only retained its position as a second and liturgical language but also experienced some revival under the impact of Arabic and Islam. Writing in literary Arabic, Maimonides justified it thus: 'Any one who knows the three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, knows that they are only three branches of one and the same language' (in Halevi 1987: 61).

The acquisition of the Arabic language by the Jews meant also their adoption of Arab ways of thinking and forms of literature as well as Muslim religious notions. Arabic was used by Jews for all kinds of literary activities, not only for scientific and other secular purposes but also for expounding and translating the Bible or the *Mishnah*, for theological and philosophical treatises, for discussing Jewish law and ritual, and even for the study of Hebrew grammar. A more colloquial form of Arabic, interspersed with Hebrew words and phrases, was used for letter-writing and other purposes (Halevi 1987: 131–2).

The Judaic-Arabic symbiosis is reflected in the history of the translation of the Jewish Bible into Arabic. Originally, the reason for this activity was an endeavour to provide an authoritative interpretation of the texts, in particular in theological matters (e.g. the inculcation of a spiritual-abstract conception of the humanlike qualities attributed to God in the Bible). That is why the most famous of the classical translations, which superseded all the others in popular usage, that of Saʾadya Gaon, a linguist, philosopher and theologian of Egyptian origin who became Gaon, the spiritual head of the Jewish community in Baghdad (d.942), was called his *Tafsir*, 'commentary'. To avoid misunderstanding, Saʾadya also wrote a famous Arabic commentary on the Bible. His Arabic translation of the Bible, Goitein writes,

> became a sacred text, which was copied, and later printed, beside the Hebrew original and the old Aramaic version. This procedure was followed even in the latest standard of the Pentateuch for Yemenite Jews printed in Tel Aviv in 1940.
> (Goitein [1955] 1974: 135)

Writing in Arabic and using Arabic methods and terminology, Jewish scholars assiduously explored and described the Hebrew Bible and the *Mishnah*. For the first time, the pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary of Hebrew were scientifically treated. Thus Hebrew and Hebrew Bible studies became a disciplined and well-organized means of expression under the influence of the Arabic traditions of language teaching of classical Islam (Goitein [1955] 1974: 136; Halevi 1987: 134–6). Some of the most important medieval Jewish theology was written in Arabic, partly because it had to use Arabic and Muslim concepts for which no words existed in Hebrew. Islam saved the Jewish theology of the Talmud from

disintegration and gave it a new content, in the image of Islam and in the image that Islam had of Judaism. In Muslim theology, Maimonides found a model of a renaissance for Arab Judaism that Islam encouraged and cultivated. With the exception of *Mishneh Torah*, all of Maimonides' major works were written in Arabic, although some were printed in Hebrew characters by simple transliteration from one alphabet to the other to get round the Islamic ban on missionary activity by the 'Peoples of the Book' in Ayyubid Egypt. But despite this device his works were read and discussed by theologians of all faiths.

The philosophical work that is considered Maimonides' *magnum opus* is *The Guide for the Perplexed* (Arabic, *Dalalat al-Hairin*); it was studied and used copiously by Jews, Christians and Muslims. It was also taught by Muslim lecturers to Jewish audiences who were less familiar with the philosophical and scientific thinking of the time (Goitein [1955] 1974: 146). In *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages*, Goitein writes:

> *The Guide of the Perplexed* is a great monument of Jewish-Arab symbiosis, not merely because it is written in Arabic by an original Jewish thinker and was studied by Arabs, but because it developed and conveyed to large sections of the Jewish people ideas which had so long occupied the Arab mind.
>
> (Goitein [1955] 1974: 146–7)

In contrast to his conservative Jewish theology, *The Guide for the Perplexed* reflected critical Arab rationalism and Islamic Aristotelianism. In the book Maimonides debated with al-Farabi and the *mutakallimun* and with the Karaites whom he fought with all the authority of his rabbinical position. The text deals with the apparent contradictions between the study of philosophy and science, and a person's continued adherence to religious beliefs and practices. Maimonides' translator into Hebrew, his contemporary Yehuda Ibn Tibbon, explained in the Preface (written in Provence) to *The Guide for the Perplexed* that all these great works could only have been written in Arabic, since they used Arabic concepts for which no words existed in Hebrew (Halevi 1987: 73–5). Subsequently Samuel Ibn Tibbon (*c.* 1165–1232), a translator and philosophical commentator on the Bible, became famous for his accurate and faithful rendition from the Arabic into Hebrew of Maimonides' classic *Dalalat al-Hairin*, under the title *Moreh Nebuchim*.

Maimonides' rationalist philosophy would prefigure early modern Jewish rational philosophy, as evident in the work of Baruch Spinoza (1632–77; later Benedict de Spinoza), the Jewish-Dutch philosopher, who was also of Sephardi origins. Known for his contribution to the European Enlightenment and modern biblical criticism, Spinoza was effectively excommunicated by the Jewish religious establishment of Amsterdam and his books were later put on the Catholic Church's Index of Forbidden Books. Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* was also suppressed by the rabbinical establishment on account of Maimonides being a 'heretic' (Shahak and Mezvinsky 2004: 167, n. 17) and was not widely accessible to Jewish pupils until the modern period.

Arabic remained the vernacular language of Jews in Tiberias. In the early sixteenth century Tiberias had become a city of refuge for Andalusian Arab-Jewish survivors of the Spanish Inquisition. These skilled Jewish migrants eventually contributed to both the expansion of the town's silk industry and the growth of Tiberias' role as a trade centre between Damascus and the Hijaz. Hebrew, then largely a language of liturgy rather than a day-to-day vernacular language, was codified in Tabariyyah under the globalizing impact of Arabic and Islam.

The Contribution of the Kuttabs to Elementary Literacy until the 1948 Palestine Nakba

Modernity and modern environments and experiences have had positive as well as devastatingly negative consequences for Palestine. To begin with, the advent of modern European Zionism and settler-colonialism, formally backed by British colonialism after 1917, has had devastating consequences for the indigenous people of Palestine. The modern educational revolutions in Palestine, the spread of the modern printing press and modern mass literacy in the country (including mass education for women) from the late Ottoman period onwards were coupled with official and professional attempts to reform, 'modernize' and expand the kuttabs – especially during the Mandatory period – as important institutions for the provision of mass elementary literacy and community education. Paradoxically, however, ideas about modern education have also contributed to the almost total disappearance of the kuttabs in Palestine in the post-Nakba period. This dramatic rupture in Palestinian history and the total elimination of the kuttab schools (together with most Quranic schools) in Palestine were facilitated by the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948 and the destruction of hundreds of Palestinian villages and towns by Zionist forces during the Nakba (Masalha 1992). Paradoxically, modern Palestinian and Arab secular prejudices against the kuttabs also ensured that no attempts were made in the post-Nakba period to revive them. After existing for hundreds of years and providing much-needed elementary literacy and moral values for many ordinary people – people who, historically, had little access to the elite advanced education of urban Palestine – they were replaced in the Nakba period by the modern public elementary school system; few or no regrets were voiced by the modern educated secular classes of Palestine about this passing of the kuttabs and Quranic schools.

Yet in the pre-Nakba period, some of the great Palestinian educators and modernist intellectuals (including Ishaq Musa al-Husseini, Hasan Said al-Karmi, Khalil Sakakini and Muhammad Isaʾaf Nashashibi [1885–1948]) began their elementary education in, or partly attended, Quranic schools and kuttabs of the late Ottoman period. In contrast to top-down elite narratives and secular nationalist ambiguities about Quranic literacy and the kuttab system in Palestine

is the nuanced and fairly positive account by a leading Palestinian professor of education, Abdul Latif Tibawi (1910–81), who provided the most extensive description of the kuttab system in Palestine, with its achievements and limitations. Tibawi was a Palestinian historian and educationalist[1] who, prior to the 1948 Nakba, had firsthand experience with the educational system in Palestine (in the kuttabs and working as a senior education officer in the Palestine government's Department of Education). Subsequently he was appointed Lecturer and later Professor of Comparative Education at the Institute of Education, University of London (where he taught until his retirement in 1977), today and for many years ranked first in the world for education. Among Tibawi's many publications were *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine* (1956) and *Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems* (1972). In *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine* Tibawi considered the contribution of 'the Kuttab (lower elementary school)', the 'most common type of Muslim school in village or town' in Palestine, within the wider context of Muslim history and the importance of education in Islam ([1956] 1972: 56). In the period 1915–25 the kuttabs were often conducted in towns and villages in a 'single room', part of a private dwelling or a public building (74). He then goes on to describe the 'rapid transformation' of the kuttabs in the post-1925 period when the 'reformed Kuttabs' were provided by the Mandatory government with desks, new books, more educated teachers and reconditioned old buildings (76). Tibawi then concludes:

> Yet despite its primitiveness and all its limitations, the Kuttab succeeded on the whole in achieving literacy and, more important still, it rarely failed to inculcate moral values and to form character. The explanation of this success is to be sought in the fact that the process of instruction had a definite religious setting actively aided by society.
>
> ([Tibawi 1956] 1972: 74)

Rote Learning and Aurality: Memorization versus Critically Engaged Learning

Rote learning is a technique of memorization based on repetition in which children recite texts. Using this system with the Quran was widely practised in kuttabs and Quran schools in Palestine and throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds, and became particularly influential partly within the context of *aural*/*oral* cultures of Arab societies. Traditionally, rote memorization, as opposed to analytical and critical thinking, was also seen as a distinctive feature of Arabic poetry teaching and Quranic school instruction. The idea was that pupils would be able to recall the text of the Quran or Arabic poetry the more they repeated it. Rote learning was also widely used in the mastery of foundational knowledge of Arabic in traditional Islamic madrasas. Rote memorization often eschewed critical thinking

or comprehension, and, thus, by itself, became an ineffective tool in mastering complex subjects at an advanced level of education in Palestine.

Coming under sharp attack in the modern period, the Quranic schools and kutttabs, with their rote memorization methods, have been widely criticized by modern educational theorists (Bean 2011: 384; Mulnix 2010: 464–79). The Quranic schools, in particular, with their emphasis on rote memorization of parts or all of the Quran, were criticized by Western and modern Muslim scholars as 'backward, uninteresting, and stultifying to students' (Boyle 2004: 19) and generally as an 'inferior form of literacy'. However, rote memorization of the Quran (or parts of it) and Arabic poetry has remained popular, especially within the context of powerful Arab aural/oral cultures. Moreover, some anthropologists have also argued that schools in the Arab world are going through a state of transition, with a new innovative mission, and have argued that the missions of these schools have continued to develop even with the challenges of a predominantly public secular education. Islamic and Quranic schools no longer have a monopoly on the educational landscape in most Arab countries, and modern public schools teach the Islamic religion, which means that contemporary Islamic schools have had to stretch themselves, innovate and develop new features, especially in preschool learning processes for children. Therefore, Islamic schooling continues to develop a wider mission and new niches to stay relevant to community life (Boyle 2004: 19).

Some critical learning alternatives to rote learning were introduced by Palestinian radical pedagogues, beginning with Khalil Sakakini (see Chapter 9), while in recent decades critical learning methods have been suggested by Palestinian pedagogical reformers, but the debate on Palestinian textbooks has continued and even intensified since the formation of the Palestinian Authority in 1993 (see, for instance, Mazawi 2011: 169–83; Sayigh 2017: 145–75). The work of Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, one of Palestine's foremost intellectuals and a former professor of political science at Northwestern University in the United States, who made a tremendous contribution to Palestinian critical education in the latter stages of his life, is a case in point. Born in Jaffa, in Mandatory Palestine, in 1929, he later served as Vice-President of Birzeit University, on the West Bank. Abu-Lughod was described by Edward Said as 'My Guru' (2001b) and 'Palestine's foremost academic and intellectual' (Said 2001a). From 1994 onwards Abu-Lughod, then based at Birzeit University, was responsible for spearheading a task force for the introduction for a genuinely Palestinian curriculum to replace the old two-pronged differentiated curriculum, one being Egyptian and used in the Gaza region and the other being Jordanian and followed within the West Bank. Abu-Lughod also helped found and direct the Palestinian Curriculum Development Centre (PCDC) in the 1990s, which sought to put critical thinking at the centre of the Palestinian school curriculum in the West Bank and Gaza. Established with the assistance of UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) with its focus on educational reforms, the PCDC attempted to

transform the educational practices and textbooks in Palestine. Abu-Lughod's curriculum reforms were directed towards critical thinking inspired by the works of critical international educators such as Paulo Freire, with an emphasis on 'critical praxis' and 'education for freedom and liberation' (Freire 1970, 1985, 1994, 1998; Freire and Faundez 1989) as well as the experiences of local Palestinian educators under occupation who sought to promote decolonization, human rights, democratic citizenship, critical thinking and active knowledge creation, away from some traditional Arab educational practices, which were driven by authoritarian practices, passive education and top-down uncritical memorization of knowledge. Although the reform efforts of Abu-Lughod and his team were thwarted following the Israeli occupation in light of the Second Intifada and their ransacking of the Ministry of Education, in 2002 this curriculum experiment yielded important insights and new critical ideas concerning higher education that derived from Abu-Lughod's educational legacy at Birzeit University.

Moreover, in the 1990s a group of literacy theory and critical pedagogy scholars coined the term 'multiliteracies'; their approach highlighted two key aspects of multiliteracies: linguistic diversity and multimodal forms of linguistic learning, representation and communication through the internet and multimedia or popular culture (Cope and Kalantzis 2009: 164–95). Equally, recent forms of learning through oral history and popular discourses, emails, websites, visual and emotional literacies should not be overlooked as 'inferior or popular literacies' and disenfranchised and excluded from mainstream literacy practices to sanitize learners from issues of power, privilege and prejudice and from those questioning dominant discourses. In fact, an increased blurring of 'popular literacy' and 'quality literature', facilitated by classical literature made available in electronic formats or by online communities (Mills 2009: 103–16), gives us an insight into the historical blurring between the popular maktabs and kuttabs, on the one hand, and the high-quality law schools of classical Islam, on the other.

11 BETWEEN PROFESSIONALISM AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM: PALESTINIAN EDUCATION IN MANDATORY PALESTINE (1918–1948)

The Government Arab College: Khalil Sakakini, Khalil Totah and Ahmad Samih Khalidi

Innovative teaching and learning practices have played an important role in the construction of modern Palestinian identity since the late nineteenth century. As we have already seen in Chapter 9, radical and innovative educational practices were evident in the progressive and transformative pedagogy of *nahda* of Khalil Sakakini – who was around long before Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish. Emotional skills and visual intelligence and the arts are central to modern humanist education. Appreciating emotional intelligence and the power and 'pleasures' of *aurality-orality* in Arab culture, music and poetry, Sakakini introduced to modern Palestinian education music and humanist methods of independent thinking and 'critical praxis' – to borrow an expression coined by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994) – and contributed to the founding of modern schools in Jerusalem. He became the most influential modern Palestinian national educator in the first half of the twentieth century.

There were three highly original radical intellectuals who became widely recognized in their time in Palestine and internationally as 'celebrity teachers': Origen, who founded the Library of Caesarea-Palaestina in the third century,

and the Jerusalemite scholars Edward Said and Khalil Sakakini in the twentieth century. Sakakini was a product of the Arab 'Nahda Age', the age of Arab cultural awakening and renaissance and educational revolution in the Arab East (*al-Mashriq al-ʿArabi*) of the late Ottoman period – a revolution generated by local and regional awakening combined with transnational and cross-cultural ideas and technologies.

Beginning in the 1860s and 1870s, in Palestine the educational and schooling revolution continued into the late Mandatory period and came to an abrupt end with the Palestinian Nakba and the destruction of Palestine in 1948. Sakakini served (in 1919–20) as the first Principal of the Training College for Arab Elementary Teachers (later becoming known as the Government Arab College), the most prestigious teacher training college of Mandatory Palestine, and later Principal of the *Nahda School* (Renaissance School), one of the most important pre-1948 Palestinian Arab colleges founded in Jerusalem in the late 1930s. Mass modern secondary schooling (and generally higher education) in Palestine and internationally is a relatively new phenomenon; for instance, in England in the 1920s only 7 per cent of primary school pupils continued into secondary schooling; after the Second World War (especially in the 1950s) modern secondary schooling was expanded in England – but then only 4 per cent of pupils went on to university. In Jaffa and Jerusalem government secondary schools have existed since the early 1920s.

Throughout the British colonial period (1918–48) education in Palestine was neither compulsory nor universal, although both schools (1,530 by 1942–43) and teachers (7,896) were required by law to be registered (Epstein 1945: 198). Crucially, while much of the budget of the British Palestine government was directed towards security and the maintenance of colonial rule in Palestine, a relatively small proportion – less than 5 per cent – was allocated for educational purposes (Hovsepian 2008: 95; Tibawi [1956] 1972). After 1920 the British also encouraged a dual public educational system, Arabic and Hebrew. The Mandatory government's Department of Education began to implement primary school expansion schemes in the 1930s, including the setting up of more secondary modern schools – and the upgrading of some primary schools into secondary modern schools – including in the cities of Safad, Gaza[1] and al-Khalil – schemes that significantly increased the number of Arab teachers and schools in Palestine (Davis 2003: 192). During the British Mandatory period, Sakakini, like other Palestinian Arab national educators, struggled with British officials (and the Mandatory government's Department of Education) over the pace of educational expansion and the type of education, curricula content, teaching methods, funding and control (191). Sakakini both worked for the Department of Education and criticized British colonialism and British official discrimination against educated Palestinians as well as challenging the educational policies and teaching methods of the British Mandatory authorities (Davis 2003: 193; Alshwaikh 2014a).

Seeking to prepare young people for the job market, the British colonial administration of Mandatory Palestine prioritized elementary (*ibtidai*) over secondary (*thanawi*) state schools in Palestine. Professor Abdul Latif Tibawi (1910–81), in *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine* ([1956] 1972), puts the figures for the government Arab schools for 1944–45 at 72,000 pupils – a figure not surprising in view of the fact that the British began to expand Arab primary schools and recruit Arab teachers in significant numbers largely in the 1930s. However, this figure excludes the large number of Arab students then taught in the diverse networks of community schools.

Palestinian activist educators criticized the British for seeking to denationalize the formal curriculum, and used covert approaches and lessons to communicate their values of cultural nationalism and anti-colonialist resistance (Marʾi 1978: 18; Torstrick 2000: 90). Some Palestinian educators accused the British of conducting 'a deliberate policy of keeping the Arab population in a state of illiteracy and ignorance' (Tibawi [1956] 1972: 160). However, the outcome of the educational revolution of the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods was much in evidence and the overall conclusion drawn by both Abdul Latif Tibawi and Rashid Khalidi regarding the considerable progress in the level of mass literacy in Palestine by the end of the Mandatory period was impressive:

> Thus, by 1947 nearly 45 per cent of the Arab school-age population and the large majority of urban boys and girls were in school, which compares favorably with the situation in neighboring Arab countries.
>
> (Khalidi 2020: 261, n. 3; Tibawi [1956] 1972: tables 270–1)

Prioritizing elementary schools for boys, the Palestine government's Department of Education established the Training College for Arab Elementary Teachers (known to Palestinians as *Dar al-Muʾallimin* – literally the 'House of Teachers' – a teacher training college) in 1919. Initially located off Zahra Street in East Jerusalem and under the leadership of Khalil Sakakini, this British-sponsored teacher training college effectively came to replace the two Russian teacher training colleges of late Ottoman Palestine in Nazareth (for men; also known locally as *Dar al-Muʾallimin*) and Beit Jala (for women) (see Chapter 8). The Nazareth College was later replaced by the Young Men Teachers' Training College in Jerusalem until 1927, subsequently renamed the Government Arab College and the Beit Jala's women College of late Ottoman Palestine was replaced by the Women Torchers' Training College in Jerusalem under the Mandate. Its initial purpose was to train much-needed qualified teachers for the Arab primary schools in the country.

This highly selective Government Arab College – which presaged the very selective grammar school tier of the tripartite system of state-funded secondary education operating in England and Wales from the mid-1940s to the late 1960s – soon developed from 1925 to 1948 into the leading Arab educational institution of Mandatory Palestine, attracting glamour and some of the brightest Arab boys and

young men in the country, selected through exams and interviews (Davis 2003: 192). Apart from the teaching of English, its language of instruction was Arabic. Its pass rate in the matriculation was around 95 per cent, and some of the brightest students went on to study at the American University of Beirut, or American University of Cairo, while a few of its outstanding graduates were given government scholarships to study at English universities and, after graduation, return to Palestine to teach in the government secondary modern schools (Caplan 1980: 180).

Language (and vernacularization), cultural geography and indigenous history have been central to many modern cultural nationalisms, and Palestinian cultural nationalism in the Mandatory period is no exception. Although the requirements of Palestinian cultural nationalism during the British colonial period demanded an emphasis on *Arabic*, the language of indigenous Palestinians, the emphasis on the *English* language at the prestigious Government Arab College of Jerusalem was an important factor in the decisions of bright (often middle-class) students seeking further and higher education abroad at the American University in Beirut or British universities. For centuries under Islam, Arabic was the key language of instruction and learning in Palestine; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many of the brightest male pupils of the Islamic schools of Jerusalem or the Ahmadiyya seminary in Acre continued their further and higher education in Arabic at the Azhar college (later University) of Cairo, and in the late Ottoman period some of the brightest graduates of the many multilingual French primary schools and colleges of Palestine went on to study at the Mulkiyya College in Istanbul or the Sorbonne in Paris (famous examples include ʿArif al-Arif [1891–1972], of Jerusalem, Ruhi Khalidi, of Jerusalem, and ʿAwni ʿAbdel Hadi [1889–1970], of Nablus). However, British and American universities and the American University of Beirut became key destinations for many outstanding graduates of Palestinian secondary schools during the Mandatory period. The American University of Beirut (AUB) was a particular favourite destination for Palestinian students: in 1929 some eighty Palestinian students graduated from the AUB in sciences, chemistry and medicine and in 1937–1938 the number of Palestinian students who were registered at the AUB were 286 out of a total of 1,632 students representing 45 nationalities (including 536 Muslims, 182 Jews, 48 Druze, 8 Bahais, 2 Hindu, and the rest Christians); after the combined figure given for Lebanese/Syrian students (779), the Palestine students were the largest foreign national group of students at the AUB (*Falastin* newspaper [Jaffa], 25 May 1938).

Leading Palestinian intellectual and author Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1920–94), who was born into a poor Bethlehem family, was educated at the Arab College in Jerusalem, received a scholarship to study in England in 1939 and graduated from Cambridge University with a BA in English literature in 1943. Palestinian educationist Abdul Latif Tibawi, one of the earliest graduates of the Government Arab College in Jerusalem, earned a PhD from the University of London in 1948 and served later as Professor of Comparative Education at the Institute of Education, London. Other Palestinian graduates of the college became well-known Palestinian

academics, activist intellectuals, public figures and senior UN officers: for example, Dr Ismail Raghib Khalidi, who became a UN senior officer; Dr Haidar `Abdel-Shafi (1919–2007) of Gaza; Professor Ihsan Abbas (1920–2003), of the prestigious American University of Beirut; Salem Hanna Khamis (1919–2005), a senior UN officer; Hasib Sabbagh (1920–2010); and Professor Irfan Arif Shahid (1926–2016), born in Nazareth as Irfan Arif Qaʾwar, later Professor of Arabic and Islamic Literature at Georgetown University (Demichelis 2015: 264–81). Other graduates of the Government Arab College included historian Dr Nicola Ziadah, who taught at the state Secondary School of Acre between 1925 and 1935, and later at the American University of Beirut, and Dr Ahmad Salim Saʿidan (1914–91, born in Safad; died in Amman), a distinguished Palestinian scientist and historian of Arabic mathematics and astronomy and long-time Professor at the University of Jordan.

The eleven-volume encyclopaedic work *Our Country, Palestine* (*Biladuna Filastin*) (al-Dabbagh 1965 and 1972–86) by the Jaffa-born veteran teacher and distinguished educator Mustafa al-Dabbagh (1897–1989) is perhaps the single most important publication which illustrates the scale of the modern Palestinian learning and educational revolution of the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods. Al-Dabbagh had taught social studies at the Teachers' College in Jerusalem in the 1920s and had then served as deputy inspector of education in Nablus and Gaza (1927–33), inspector of education in Jaffa (1933–40), inspector of education in Nablus (1940–45), and again inspector of education in Jaffa (1945–48). In the post-Nakba period, he held senior educational positions in a number of Arab countries, including those of Deputy Director General of the Jordanian Education Ministry in 1950, Director General of the Jordanian Education Ministry in 1954, and Director of Education in Qatar (1959–61).

The educational revolution of the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods, culminating in the Government Arab College (1919–48), the pinnacle of the selective and highly professional teacher training colleges of Mandatory Palestine, gradually led to a greater emphasis on professionalism in education. A key Palestinian professional educator who became central to the educational history of Mandatory Palestine was Dr Khalil Totah (1886–1955), who served first as assistant Principal (in 1919) and then Principal of the Men's Elementary Training College (known locally as *Dar al-Muʾallimin* – the 'Teachers' Training College') between 1920 and 1925. Like many Palestinian intellectuals who were educated in the cosmopolitan missionary schools of late Ottoman Palestine, Totah's formative education was at the prestigious American Christian Friends School (Quakers), founded in Ramallah/al-Bireh in 1889, and later at the Church Missionary Society's English college in Jerusalem (Ricks 2009a: 51–77). Totah then attended Clark College (now University) in Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1908 to 1911, then continued at Columbia University's Teachers College from 1911 to 1912 for his MA in education (51–77). In 1912 he returned to Palestine and was appointed teacher (and later Principal) at Ramallah's Friends Boys' Training School from 1912 to 1914. After Sakakini's resignation as Principal of the Men's Elementary

Training College in Jerusalem in 1920, following the appointment of pro-Zionist Sir Herbert Samuel as the first High Commissioner of the Palestine Mandate (1920–25), Totah was appointed as Principal, while Sakakini was later appointed to the position of an inspector of Arab schools in Palestine (51–77). However, in 1925 Totah resigned his position at the Government Arab College following Palestinians' protest at the arrival of Arthur Balfour of the infamous 'Balfour Declaration' in Palestine to attend several Zionist ceremonies, including the opening of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus on 1 April (51–77). However, following this resignation, Totah worked once again, between 1927 and 1944, as a teacher and then Principal of one of the most academically successful missionary schools of the Mandatory period, the Friends Boys' School of Ramallah (51–77). From 1950 until his death in 1955, Totah served as director of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs in New York.

A highly professional modern educator, Totah's doctoral dissertation on 'The Contribution of the Arabs to Education' (1926) under classical Islam – written at Colombia University's Teachers College, the first and largest graduate school of education in the United States. At Colombia University's Teachers College Totah also came under the influence of the philosophy of progressive education of John Dewey (1859–1952), an American philosopher and educational reformer who had a profound impact on progressive education, scientific method and enlightenment empiricism in the USA. Totah's doctoral dissertation describes the progress and richness of the Arab academic traditions of the ninth to the tenth century, the different types of elementary and advanced schools under classical Islam, the use of the 'Socratic Method' of questioning and dialectical learning in advanced schools, and the intellectual revolutions that produced the Arab and Muslim polymaths whose books encompassed subjects as varied as medicine, education, mathematics, optics, philosophy, geography, theology, politics, poetry, ethics, sociology, grammar, literature and astronomy (Totah 1926). Seeking to recover and reclaim the literary heritage (*turath*) of classical Arabic learning practices and to combine this with modern achievements in learning, Totah's doctoral dissertation was published in Arabic in Jerusalem in 1932 under the title *Al-Tarbiya ʿInd al-ʿArab* (Education among the Arabs) (1932a).

Totah also became an outspoken advocate of critical education in Palestine. A prolific author, Totah's early publications and co-authored books between 1920 and 1932 on Arab education and the history and geography of Palestine were mostly in Arabic, while his later publications were largely in English. His co-authored books, while still serving as Principal of the Men's Elementary Training College – *The History of Jerusalem* (Totah and Shehadeh 1920), *The Geography of Palestine* (Totah and Khouri 1923) and *The Geography of Palestine* (Totah and al-Barghouthi 1923) – give the impression of being written as textbooks for elementary schools in Palestine. Totah also contributed to a widely distributed special edition of the 1932 US *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia) with a widely cited article on 'Education in Palestine' (Ricks 2009a: 51–77; Totah 1932a, b).

Despite its reputation as an elite institution and the 'pinnacle of Palestinian education' (W. Khalidi 1984: 172) during the Mandatory period, the Arab College educated a generation of Palestinian Arab activist teachers and intellectuals who were passionate about transnational, humanist *nahda* education, with its pan-Arab and international anti-colonial solidarity dimensions – a generation that was also at the forefront of the internationally wedded Palestinian radical revivalism in the 1960s and 1970s. Under the intense Palestinian-Zionist conflict and the threats posed by Zionist settler-colonialism in Palestine, many Palestinian schools became centres for nationalist agitation, and many Arab schoolmasters became passionately patriotic and highly critical of British imperialism and British support for the monoculturalist Zionist project in Palestine. Totah, an activist-teacher, was no exception. He remained passionate about the central role of education in a multicultural society such as Palestine, and called for 'the multiple benefits of joint schooling for Jews, Muslims and Christians within a practical and liberal curriculum' (Ricks 2009a: 51–77). Totah, who appeared before the British Peel Commission in 1937 to give evidence on behalf of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee (Palestine Royal Commission 1937: 253), was highly critical and deeply dissatisfied with the lack of government priority for Arab female education in Palestine; he repeatedly called for professional and vocational education for girls and for the professional role of women in society and was among the leading Palestinian educators and intellectuals of the Mandatory period who highlighted the 'critical role of education in the liberation and development of Palestine' (Ricks 2009a: 51–77).

A biography highlighting Khalil Totah's passion for education and his key role in the educational history of Mandatory Palestine was later published by his daughter Joy Totah Hilden, under the title *Passion for Learning: The Life Journey of Khalil Totah, a Palestinian Quaker Educator and Activist* (Hilden 2016). Partly on the basis of the evidence provided by Totah, the (generally pro-Zionist) Peel Commission report of 1937 concluded: 'Among the Arabs there is high demand for education. It was pressed on us by the Arab witnesses, and it is evidenced by the number of applications made every year for the entrance into the town and village schools' (Palestine Royal Commission 1937: 251).

Following Sakakini and Totah, the third influential and highly talented professional Palestinian educator and Principal of the Government Arab College (*al-Kulliyya al-ʿArabiyya*) was Ahmad Samih Khalidi – father to both Professors Walid Khalidi and Tarif Khalidi, of the American University of Beirut – an educator, author and social reformer who had worked for the Education Department of the Palestine Mandate Government between 1919 and 1925 (Fischbach 2005a: 279). Transforming a teacher training college into the premier Arab education centre in Palestine, under his leadership plans were prepared by the Mandatory government to transform the 'junior college' into the first University of Palestine (Ricks 2009a: 51–77) – plans that were interrupted by the Palestine Nakba and the closure of the college in 1948. Of the three most influential men of the official educational

system of Mandatory Palestine, Khalidi was the longest-serving Director of the Arab College and had a lasting impact on this elite college of modern Palestine. Khalidi also held the most senior position and had the longest career in education, and under his leadership the Arabic language was vigorously promoted by the *Journal of the Arab College* (*Majallat al-Kulliyya al-Arabiyya*) and literary Arabic became a vehicle of cultural nationalism and intellectual modernism and the premier national language of instruction at all stages of Arab schooling in Palestine (Palestinian Journeys n.d.-a). A member of the urban elite and a Jerusalemite family of scholars, Khalidi was a graduate of the English-language St George's School in Jerusalem and the American University of Beirut (BA in 1919; and MA on 'education in late Ottoman Palestine'). He had worked for the Department of Education of the Mandate between 1919 and 1923 as inspector of education in the subdistricts of Jaffa, Tulkarm and Gaza, and had been involved in establishing and modernizing elementary schools in the villages and towns of Palestine.

The three heads of the Government Arab College, Sakakini, Totah and Khalidi, were all pronouncedly exposed to modernist secular ideas and Western missionary schooling in Palestine (Willson 2013: 181–2) and, crucially, both Totah and Khalidi were also exposed to the then widely known progressive educational philosophy of American educationalist John Dewey. In additional to these three scholars, other highly professional and progressive educators at the Government Arab College included Wasfi ʿAnabtawi (1903–84), who studied education at the American University of Beirut and in 1934 received an MA in history and geography from Cambridge University; he taught at the Government Arab College until 1940 when he was appointed inspector of Arab history and geography education in the Palestine government's Department of Education until 1948. The relatively rapid expansion of the European-funded missionary and community schools in urban Palestine in the late Ottoman and early Mandatory period led to the widening of the 'educational divide' between the highly 'literate' urban elites and the 'new' commercial middle classes in the cities and the predominantly aural/oral culture of the Palestinian peasantry in the countryside – a divide that became apparent during the Mandatory period and increased the social prejudices against the so-called 'ignorant peasants' (Sayigh 2007: 81). This divisive split was also a major concern for progressive Palestinian educators and social reformers such as Khalidi. In the summer of 1923, Khalidi completed his MA in education at the American University of Beirut in late Ottoman Palestine and, as we shall see later in this chapter, his idea for the rapid expansion of elementary schools to deprived rural Palestine by the villagers contributing land, premises and labour to build the schools, and the Mandatory authorities training, appointing and paying qualified teachers (Palestinian Journeys n.d.-a) was almost certainly inspired by the relative success of the Palestine Russian Society school system of late Ottoman Palestine – a school system that also had a positive impact on rural Palestine and Lebanon. In 1923 Khalidi was appointed General Inspector of education in the Jerusalem district and lecturer in education at the Teachers' College (Government Arab College)

in Jerusalem. In 1941 he was appointed as Assistant Deputy Director of Education for the Mandate, in addition to his post as Principal of the Government Arab College from 1925 to May 1948.

Like Sakakini and Totah, and many of the teachers and pupils of the Government Arab College, Khalidi played a role in the national struggle for Palestine and the turbulent history of the Mandatory period; as a social reformer, he became increasingly involved in the plight of orphans in Palestine, especially following the Palestinian rebellion of 1935–39, in which a disproportionately large number of Palestinians were injured and killed. A patrician and social reformer, Khalidi set up in 1939 and presided over the General Arab Orphan Committee, which sought to build schools for the victims of the uprising, including an orphanage and a model agricultural school and a farm for the sons of the martyrs in the village of Deir ʿAmr, near Jerusalem, the first of its kind in Palestine. In 1940 the first £1,000 was collected from fourteen wealthy Arab individuals of Jerusalem for this project (Stark 1945: 105–6). The Committee also began a project to build a similar school nearby for the daughters of martyrs. In 1948 Deir ʿAmr was depopulated by Israel and, in 1952, the buildings of the Palestinian agricultural boys' school and farm were transformed into the Israeli mental hospital Eitanim (W. Khalidi 1992: 284). However, Khalidi's experiment may have also inspired the founding of the farm school near Jericho for the orphans of the Nakba and the children of Palestinian refugees by Jerusalemite national figure Musa ʿAlami (1897–1984) in 1952 (Gilmour 1982: 128–9). Among his works on reformed education, history and psychology, several of Khalidi's publications on education were written for training professional teachers – *Classroom Management* (1928), *Systems of Education* (2 volumes; 1933, 1935), *Pillars of Teaching* (1934) – and were incorporated into standard textbooks in Palestine and a number of other countries in the Arab world (Fischbach 2005a: 279).

Progressive Education and Cultural Modernism

The educational revolution of Mandatory Palestine also witnessed the remarkable rise of the progressive 'School Journals', and the Arabic journal of the Government Arab College, *Majallat al-Kulliyya al-Arabiyya*, together with the journal of the community-based Muslim high school, Rawdat al-Maʾarif School in Jerusalem, rose to become among the most widespread and influential Arab school journals of Mandatory Palestine. However, while the spread in enlightened and progressive school journals in Mandatory Palestine and the rise of mass literacy and the education of women during the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods can be described as two important revolutions in modern Palestinian education, intellectually the actual works of Totah and Khalidi at the Government Arab College cannot be described as either 'radical' or 'revolutionary' – but they are

decidedly 'modernist'. Their work helped to professionalize and modernize Arab education in Palestine within the context of rising Palestinian nationalism and the growing anti-colonial struggle in the Mandatory period.

There were many prominent Palestinian cultural nationalist educators, geographers and historians in the Mandatory period, including: Khalil Beidas (see Chapter 8); ʿArif al-ʿArif (1892–1973), a journalist, historian and mayor of East Jerusalem in the 1950s; Muhammad Rafiq al-Tamimi (1889–1957), an educator and politician; Muhammad Isaʾaf Nashashibi (1885–1948), a distinguished teacher of Arabic literature, prolific author and school inspector of Arabic in the Palestine government's Department of Education until 1929 (Sharif 2020); ʿAdil Zuʾaitar (1897–1957), who studied in France in the 1920s and translated into Arabic works by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, three works by Anatole France, Gustave Lebon, Emile Ludwig, Ernest Renan and other French authors; Abdel Latif Tibawi, later Professor of Education at the Institute of Education, University of London; Dr Nicola Ziadah, who taught at the state Secondary School of Acre between 1925 and 1935 and later went on to teach at the American University of Beirut; Hasan Said al-Karmi, a Palestinian linguist and broadcaster, who studied at the Institute of Education in London in the period 1939–45, and worked for the Mandate government's Department of Education and later joined the BBC Arabic Service in the post-Nakba period; Ishaq Musa al-Husseini, who studied at the Universities of Beirut and Cairo in the 1920s and later in the 1930s at the Universities of London and Göttingen, and taught at the Rashidiyya School in Jerusalem and later worked as Chief Inspector of Arabic Language in the government schools of Palestine until the 1948 Nakba; al-Husseini's novel, *Memoirs of a Hen* (1940) is widely recognized as a major contribution to modern Arab fiction; and Jibrail Katul, senior inspector of Arab schools in the government's Department of Education in the 1930s (Abu-Ghazaleh 1972: 37–63; Furas 2020: 65).

In 1921 the Palestine government's Department of Education published the *Syllabus for State Elementary Schools for Boys in Towns and Villages* (1921) and four years later the *Elementary School Syllabus* (1925), which prioritized (non-compulsory and selective) elementary schools over secondary schools and higher education, and emphasized education for boys over girls and the basic skilling of young men for the job market. According to Tibawi, in the 1921/2 school year there were 16,442 Arab students in government schools and 14,239 in missionary and private schools (Tibawi [1956] 1972: 171 and 270). In 1938 there were 330 government Arab village elementary schools – out of which 117 had small libraries for teachers and pupils – and 13 government Arab Secondary Schools in Palestine (*Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* 1939: 150) – in addition to the Government Arab College in Jerusalem and the (agricultural) Rural Teacher Training College in Tulkarm (Kadoorie), today Palestine Technical University. Five years later, in the 1942/3 academic year, according to Epstein, there were 403 government (mostly elementary) Arab schools with 58,325 pupils, the great majority of whom were

Muslim boys, with 12,722 Muslim girls (Epstein 1945: 198). However, significantly higher figures were reported in the 1944/5 school year: 81,042 in government schools, and 43,885 in missionary and private schools (Abu-Rabi'a 2001: 66). Despite the high demand for education, only 64 per cent of Arab children who applied for elementary school admission were accepted (66). In 1942/3, according to Epstein, only 58 of all the government schools provided facilities for the education of Muslim girls, 'with handicrafts and domestic science being the principal subjects taught' (Epstein 1945: 198). In addition, in 1942/3 there were 181 Christian private, community and missionary schools and 161 private Muslim schools, many of them of the elementary *kuttab* type (198). In 1942/3 the Department of Education and Public Works Department total expenditure on schools in the Arab public education system amounted to £302,543 (199).

The Palestine government's Department of Education basically reworked the elementary curriculum from the late Ottoman education system in Palestine and kept the curriculum courses that had been revised as a result of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. The Ottoman curriculum, in place when the British occupied Palestine, included Quranic studies, history, geography and arithmetic (Arabic *hisab*; a branch of mathematics). In addition to these subjects, the rest of the state elementary schools in Palestine following the British curriculum operated along secular lines and included subjects such as hygiene, physical training, domestic science and music. The Ottoman Empire was dominated by a Sunni Muslim, Turkish-speaking elite based in Istanbul; the replacement of this empire by the British Empire in Palestine signalled the rise of the English language in the country – French, in addition to Arabic and Turkish, was far more spoken and read in late Ottoman Palestine. But the British changed the Ottoman elementary curriculum minimally; they replaced Turkish with Arabic and introduced English from the fourth year (Katz 2009: 24). The subjects of the British elementary curriculum, according to Tibawi, included: Arabic, arithmetic, religion (Muslim and Christian), hygiene, history, geography, nature study, practical agriculture, physical education, drawing and manual training (Tibawi [1956] 1972: 80). However, it took time before textbooks were produced in Palestine to cover all these subjects (Katz 2009: 28).

In a few cases, primary state schools established during the late Ottoman period were transformed into secondary modern schools by the colonial authorities in the early Mandatory period. Al-Amiriyya School (al-Madrasa al-Amiriyya) in Jaffa, established during the Ottoman period as a state elementary school (Büssow 2011b: 343), was upgraded by the British Mandatory authorities in the early Mandatory period; it became one of the most important state secondary schools in Palestine by the late Mandatory period (Matar 2011: 44–5). In 1923 this secondary school employed about twenty teachers, all male. Some Palestinian activist academics and public figures studied at the Amiriyya Secondary School: for instance, Professor Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, whose long academic career included serving as Vice President of Birzeit University; Reja-e Busailah (1929–2020), a

professor of English at Indiana University, Kokomo, for many years; and Shafiq al-Hout (1932–2009). But the overall government secondary school system remained limited.

During the Mandatory period several cities in the Near East and Middle East, including Cairo, Beirut, Istanbul and the Zionist settlement (Yishuv) in Jerusalem, boasted secular modern universities, at a time when both neighbouring countries (Lebanon and Egypt) were still under colonial control. The failure of the British colonial authorities to develop higher education in Palestine meant that most Palestinian leaders and intellectuals, who were educated in local primary and secondary schools, had to seek university education in Beirut or Cairo or at British universities (al-Hout 1979: 85–111). Of course, the expectations and demands of modern secular universities are far higher than those of the advanced and higher educational institutions in ancient times and the Middle Ages. But from a long-term historical perspective, the failure of the Mandatory authorities to develop higher education in the country can be compared to the failure of the Ottoman authorities to maintain the advanced law colleges of Mamluk Jerusalem (1260–1517) and previous medieval failures to maintain the advanced academies of Byzantine Gaza and Caesarea-Palaestina – academies that were on a par with the famous ancient academies of Athens and Alexandria, and at a time when Palestinian higher educational institutions attracted students from neighbouring countries and beyond.

Also, during the Mandatory period, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was founded in 1925. With its students before 1948 being almost all Jews, and with Hebrew being the language of instruction, the Hebrew University became the leading intellectual and academic centre for the European Zionist Yishuv (the collective name for the Zionist settlement) in Palestine. However, the devastating Palestinian Nakba of 1948 also brought about the closure of one of the most prestigious Palestinian colleges created in the early Mandatory period, the al-Kulliyya al-ʿArabiyya (Government Arab College) in Jerusalem, the displacement of its first Principal, Khalil Sakakini, from his home in the Arab neighbourhood of Qatamoun and the looting of Palestinian records, archives and library collections by Israel, including the personal libraries of Khalil Sakakini and Khalil Beidas.

During the Mandatory period, in addition to the Hadassah Nursing School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, there were three Mandatory Government training centres for nurses in Palestine – Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa – with dozens of female Arab nurses graduating from these schools each year (*Nursing World*, Vol. 118–19 [1947]: pp. 46–7). Crucially, however, secondary Arab education in Palestine and the job market for highly qualified individuals under the British colonial administration remained largely male-oriented, and ethnic, racial and gender discrimination in employment practised by senior British colonial officials against highly qualified and professional Palestinian Arab men and women was rife. Palestinian employment in the British Palestine government was a major issue of conflict, and indigenous Palestinians found themselves significantly underrepresented in the senior service positions. Moreover, no Arab was appointed

as head of a government department or as a district commissioner in Palestine, these positions being reserved for the British or Zionist Jews (Wasserstein 1977: 171–94; 1991: 168). Discrimination in the employment of professional Palestinian women was even worse, and this can be illustrated by the case of Dr Charlotte Nicola Saba, the daughter of Nicola Saba, a Palestinian national figure from al-Ramla. Charlotte Saba was among the first Palestinian women to gain a higher education degree in medicine. She had qualified as a doctor in London, and had trained and gained postgraduate experience at several hospitals in England. Yet, when she returned to Palestine and applied for a post in 1945, she was refused a suitable appointment and equal pay by the British Director of the Medical Services. Eventually, under intense pressure, she was offered a post in the Palestine Medical Services but was paid a salary lower than her British colleagues for doing an equal job (Fleischmann 2003: 56–8). In early January 1948, shortly before the Nakba, Charlotte Saba, a specialist in antenatal and maternity care, opened her own private clinic in Jaffa.[2]

UNRWA and the Post-Nakba Period: Multiple Educational Agencies and Self-Instituting

Modern mass education in Palestine evolved across three distinct periods: Ottoman (elementary education), Mandatory (secondary education) and post-Nakba (higher education). Moreover, in recent history, modern mass education in Palestine has been shaped by both gradual evolution and dramatic revolutions as well as by the ruptures of the 1948 catastrophe. The expulsion of the Palestinians and the shattering of Palestinian society in 1948 led to the creation of Palestinian refugee communities composed of millions of refugees living outside of Palestine, mostly in Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon, while the rump of Palestine, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, came under the control of Jordan and Egypt, respectively.

Educationally, following the expulsion of the Palestinians and the dismemberment of Mandatory Palestine in 1948, a new situation emerged in which Palestinians predominantly came under the jurisdiction of Arab states, while a Palestinian minority within the Green Line came under Israeli military government (until 1966). Together with the unwillingness of the international community to implement UN Resolution 194, which called for the return of the 1948 refugees to their homes at the earliest practicable date and for compensation, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine formed in December 1949 to assume, *inter alia*, welfare and educational roles over a portion of the Palestinians: namely, those classified as 'refugees'. UNRWA operated in five areas: the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. Educationally, it discharged its responsibilities in the light of the educational policies of the Arab states in which it functioned, in matters of curricula, textbooks and the organization of schools

for the refugees. In practice, UNRWA and the three neighbouring Arab states assumed the responsibilities for educating the great majority of Palestinians in the period between 1949 and 1967. Also, some 5 per cent of the Palestinians in schools after 1948 came to be supported by private and church organizations (Abu Lughod 1973: 94–111). Crucially, Palestinian refugees were scattered after 1948 across diverse educational systems and since the Nakba have been collectively unable to fully control their education or to construct an authentic curriculum based on self-determined education and indigenous histories (Sayigh 2017: 145–75).

Yet, education became fundamental in the regeneration, recovery and social mobility of the Palestinians (particularly the Palestine refugees) in the post-Nakba period. Before and after the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, the Palestine refugees were not completely devoid of their own collective 'agency' or influence on Palestinian educational programnmes. UNRWA employed senior international staff and junior local officers, but its school teachers were overwhelmingly Palestinians. Consequently, and inevitably, the education programmes and school curricula for the Palestine refugees managed by UNRWA and the host Arab states intersected with the Palestinian national identity and politics, and the Palestinian refugees themselves were able to make use of their 'constrained' influence to shape the education system with the aim of preserving the Palestinian national identity and the struggle for national rights and self-representation (Abu-Lughod 1973: 94–111; Irfan 2019, 2020: 26–47). In recent decades, the scale of UNRWA's involvement in Palestinian education has diminished significantly, but its role in providing primary schooling to the refugees has remained large and absolutely vital. As of 2016, UNRWA operated the largest nongovernmental school system in the Middle East. It managed nearly 700 schools, employed 17,000 educational staff and educated more than 500,000 pupils each year (Abdul-Hamid et al. 2016: xv). Yet, UNRWA's currently underfunded schools have been losing ground in recent years, and the quality of education Palestinian refugee children receive in UNRWA's schools in three Arab host countries (Lebanon, Jordan and Syria) is in decline (Sultana 2007: 5–32).

However, despite the ambivalent feelings of many Palestinians towards UNRWA, this organization played a major role in providing elementary and preparatory education for the Palestinian refugee children in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. By the 1980s, 95 per cent of all refugee children attended school (run by UNRWA) at the elementary and preparatory levels and UNRWA's education reached all classes and both sexes (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 235). This social regeneration and recovery resulted in the creation of a generation of educated and skilled Palestinians and the employment of many Palestinians as teachers in the West Bank and Gaza as well as in neighbouring Arab countries. Also, during this post-Nakba period, the 'Palestinian exile' as writer, academic and public intellectual would emerge (Jabra 1979): 77–87). Palestinian teachers and academics filled schools and universities in the Arab Gulf states, particularly

Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and it is estimated that by the end of the 1960s nearly 60 per cent of the female teachers in the Saudi educational system were Palestinians, a significant number of whom were refugees who had been taught in the schools of UNRWA (Rosenfeld 2018). Furthermore, although UNRWA's role in Palestinian refugee education has remained crucial, there is a misconception that the modern Palestinian educational revolution began with the founding of UNRWA in the post-Nakba period. Today, Kuwait retains a 97 per cent literacy rate. Dr Shafeeq Ghabra, Palestinian academic and Professor of Politics at Kuwait University, who has detailed the key role played by Palestinian teachers in the establishment of Kuwait's educational system between 1936 and 1950s, stated that in the immediate post-Nakba period well-educated middle-class Palestinians, and Palestinian teachers educated during the Mandatory period, were the first to arrive in Kuwait between 1948 and the early 1950s, followed later by the former Palestinian peasantry; in fact, the first Palestinian teachers who arrived to teach in Kuwait's new educational system arrived in 1936 (Crystal 2016: 130). As we have already seen, this literacy and early educational revolution can be traced to the late Ottoman period which continued into the Mandatory period.

Furthermore, following this educational revolution (from the late Ottoman period to 1948) and some of the higher educational patterns established in the Mandatory period, in the 1950s and 1960s universities in Egypt and Beirut recorded the largest number of Palestinian students, followed by Syria until 1962; however, the establishment of the University of Jordan in 1962 attracted a large number of Palestinian students far beyond those choosing to study in Syria (Abu Lughod 1973: 94–111). Also, Palestinians studying in European and American universities constituted about 30 per cent of the total Palestinian student population (94–111).

The establishment of numerous Palestinian universities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since the early 1970s and the greater Palestinian educational drive for self-instituting and self-determination has gradually transformed higher education in Palestine beyond recognition. The higher educational revolution in Palestine has also had a dramatic impact on the education of women in Palestine. While for two millennia higher education in Palestine (and the whole region) was a male preserve, and even in the 1960s only a quarter of all Palestinian students at Arab universities were female, the proportion of female students at higher educational institutions in Palestine has increased dramatically in recent decades, from 43.7 per cent in 1996 to 60.2 per cent in 2015, with one university, Bethlehem University, reaching 79 per cent in 2019.

In the post-Nakba period, especially in the 1950s to 1970s, Palestinian academics contributed significantly to the development of Arab higher education in Lebanon, Jordan and the Gulf region. They have played a leading role in the establishment and development of the University of Jordan, a public higher educational institution and the premier university of Jordan and one of the most prestigious in the Arab world; in 2009 the university employed about 1,400 faculty staff and had more than 37,000 students enrolled.

EPILOGUE: THE LIBRARIES, ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS AND SHARIA COURTS' RECORDS OF MODERN PALESTINE

Western Book Hunters, the Search for Ancient Manuscripts and the Pillaging of Palestinian Heritage

In the 1920s and 1930s British businessman Edward Cadbury, a Quaker social reformer, philanthropist and the founder of Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham University, sponsored the expeditions of Iraqi Chaldean Orientalist and manuscript hunter Alphonse Mingana to Egypt, Sinai, Syria, Palestine and Iraq in the hunt for ancient Christian and Islamic Arabic manuscripts in the monasteries of the Middle East from the Abbasid era (750–1258). Today the Mingana Collection of ancient Middle Eastern manuscripts, which is part of the Cadbury Research Library at Birmingham University, the home of extensive rare books, manuscripts and associated artefacts, comprises about 4,000 rare Syriac Christian and Islamic Arabic texts as well as Greek and Armenian illustrated manuscripts (Samir and Nielsen 1994: Preface). Some of the Arabic manuscripts in the Mingana collection were produced at Mar Saba in the tenth century.

In 1840 the Russians repaired and reinforced the external walls of Mar Saba after severe damage caused to the monastery by an earthquake in 1834. But the hunt for ancient manuscripts, rare books and associated artefacts at Mar Saba and in Palestine took place in the nineteenth century at the height of European empires and European and Russian political and ecclesiastical penetration of the Holy Land – penetration that was accompanied by the collection (and even mass pillaging) of Palestinian heritage (the manuscripts of the library of Mar Saba included) by Western and Russian antiquarians and collectors of ancient artefacts. European

pilgrims, travellers, scholars and manuscript hunters visited the monasteries of Mar Saba and Saint Catherine in Sinai regularly in the nineteenth century. Some of the Arabic manuscripts produced at Mar Saba in the ninth century for the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai were preserved by the librarians of Saint Catherine's and survived into the modern period (Griffith 2010: 51). Ever since the widely publicized 'discovery' of the handwritten *Codex Sinaiticus*, the world's oldest and most complete Greek-language Bible (written primarily on parchments from calf and sheep skins) dating from AD 325 and found at Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai by Professor Constantin von Tischendorf of Leipzig University, in 1844,[1] the Western hunt for ancient manuscripts in the monasteries of the Holy Land has been in full swing.

Many of the modern travel accounts of the Mar Saba monastery are replete with crude prejudices against the local monks and 'conflict' with the Other (Islam); a typical evangelical account is by Dr Philip Schaff (1819–93), a Swiss-born, German-educated Protestant theologian and ecclesiastical historian, who became Professor of Church History and Biblical Literature in the German Reformed Theological Seminary of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. After visiting the monasteries of Mar Saba and Saint Catherine in 1877, Schaff sent an account to *The Independent*, a weekly magazine published in New York; the account commented, *inter alia*, on the ascetic lifestyle and vegetarianism of the monks of the cliff-clinging hermitage of Mar Saba, a lifestyle that was adopted by the dissident Origenist followers and the monks of the early church of Palestine:

> I reached Mar Saba after three hours ride from Jerusalem… The two convents [of Mar Saba and Saint Catherine's in Sinai] resemble each other. Both are Greek; both lie in a barren wilderness; both are forts, as well as convents, and passed through many vicissitudes during the struggle between Christianity and Mohammedanism. Both possess a valuable library, without knowing how to use it. But in ignorance and stupidity the monks of Mar Saba (now sixty in number) excel even those of Mount Sinai… They are all vegetarian and forbidden to taste any meat. No woman has ever been admitted to this sacred place.… In the wildness of its situation Mar Saba is said to be the most extraordinary building in Palestine… the convent has considerable historical interest… [Mar Saba] was the residence of St. John of Damascus [Mansur], who in the eighth century (under Islam) wrote here his great work on the Orthodox Faith.… The library is said to be very valuable; and the monks since they found this out, after a visit of Professor [Constantin von] Tiscendorf, are very reluctant to show it, though they are too ignorant to make any use of it. I had a special permit from the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, and still had some difficulty to get access to it. The library is locked up in a little dark room, with one grated window, above the chapel, and contains about 500 bound manuscript volumes in Greek, most patristic works and copies of the gospels. Some books are beautifully written on parchments. I had too little time to examine them; but a biblical and patristic

> scholar who could spend a few weeks here, or could secure the loan of the books, through the Patriarch of Jerusalem, might find valuable treasures, if we are to judge from the good fortunes of Dr Tiscendorf at the convent of Mount Sinai.
>
> (Schaff 1877: 272)

The issue of European Orientalists taking part in the great robbery of ancient Middle Eastern and Palestinian manuscripts was not tackled in Edward Said's monumental work *Orientalism* (1978). Averil Cameron commented that the library of the monastery of Mar Saba was still rich enough in ancient manuscripts in the nineteenth century for Western academic manuscript hunters and antiquarian travellers to remove them in significant numbers to St Petersburg and elsewhere (Cameron 2006: 137). According to Joseph Patrich, before 1887 fifty-five ancient manuscripts had been taken from Mar Saba and these found their way to Western and Russian libraries and museums (Patrich 2001b: 10). Already in the early nineteenth century the Revd Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1758–1804), an English Orientalist and Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University until 1796 – and a chaplain to Lord Elgin's mission to Constantinople from 1799, with the special duties to search for and collect ancient Greek, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts from Palestine and the Near East – brought back to Britain six manuscripts from the library of Mar Saba in violation of the expressed rules of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, which forbade the 'alienation of this kind of property'. The greater part of Carlyle's collection of ancient Near Eastern manuscripts were later deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, London (Todd 1823: 5–6).

In the late nineteenth century Western book hunters and manuscript looters who visited the libraries of Mar Saba and Saint Catherine's in Sinai also began to tear out illustrated pages from the manuscripts and books of the libraries, and this forced the Palestine Orthodox Church authorities in the 1880s to move most of the manuscript collection of Mar Saba to the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem; today this library in Jerusalem contains the largest collection of ancient manuscripts in Palestine, while a few handwritten manuscripts, fragments of ancient manuscripts and some books in Greek and Latin (some are missing their covers and title pages, which had been torn by Western antiquarians and manuscript hunters) remain at Mar Saba. Even in the 1950s fragments of ancient manuscripts could still be discovered at the Mar Saba library, including fragments of a fifteenth-century manuscript of an otherwise lost work of classical Greek playwright Sophocles (Ehrman 2005: 71–2). Federica Ciccolella has shown that Euripides and other pre-Christian classical Greek tragedians and texts were 'selectively' studied at the rhetorical School of Gaza in the fifth to the sixth century, through which Palestinian Christian authors and school teachers not only sought to legitimize the preservation of classical education in the schools of Palestine but also to revive classical traditions and produce original literary and artistic works in a Palestinian environment (Ciccolella 2006: 80–95;

2007: 181–204). Other modern archaeological discoveries and ancient documentary evidence also show that plays of the great Greek tragedians were studied (and some possibly performed) in the schools of rhetoric and theatres of Byzantine Palestine. As we have already seen, the Christian and Syriac-Arabic scholars and schools of Byzantine Palestine and Palestine under early Islam were steeped in the works of such pre-Christian authors as Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, Aeschylus, Galen and Hippocrates, and this discovery at Mar Saba library should also be linked to other archaeological discoveries of hundreds of Greek and Arabic papyrus and parchment texts in 1952–53 (see Chapters 2 and 3) – as well as several Christian-Palestinian Syriac fragments and some verses of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus – including the largest collection of Arabic papyri texts and the remnants of the Palestinian monastic libraries of the seventh and eighth centuries under Islam – unearthed at Khirbet al-Mird or Marda/Kastellion, a former satellite monastery of Mar Saba (the documents now reside at the Rockefeller Museum, East Jerusalem and the University of Leuven) (Grohmann 1963; Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library 2021; Watteeuw 2018).

Also, at the height of European colonialism top universities in the West also took part in manuscript hunting and the pillaging of Middle Eastern ancient heritage. In 1891, shortly after the Mar Saba manuscripts had been moved to Jerusalem for safekeeping, the University of Cambridge set up a Lectureship in Palaeography for the study of ancient historical writing and the history of scriptoria, including the study of the practices of deciphering, reading and dating historical manuscripts, and the methods by which writing and books were produced. The person who was appointed to this lectureship, James Rendel Harris (1852–1941), was a biblical scholar, manuscript hunter and Quaker theologian. In early 1892, almost immediately after his appointment to the lectureship, Harris was dispatched by the syndicate of the Cambridge University Press, accompanied by two Anglican clergymen who acted as envoys of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on a manuscript-hunting expedition to Palestine; when Harris arrived at Mar Saba he was disappointed to discover that his search for manuscripts in its library was fruitless (Falcetta 2019: 105–10).

At the height of European colonialism, in the search for Western 'roots' in the Holy Land, the indigenous perspectives of Palestinian Christians were overlooked or completely disregarded. The cultural and collective memories of the 'golden age' of Mar Saba can still be traced in the works of leading Palestinian churchmen. Bishop Munib Younan, an Arab native of Jerusalem (whose family had converted from Orthodox Christianity to Protestantism) and Bishop Emeritus and former President of the Lutheran World Federation, writes:

> The monasteries of Mar Saba and St. Catherine's in the Sinai house great collections of Arabic manuscripts from the eighth century, demonstrating a flourishing Arab-Christian literature. In many cases, Arabization also meant Islamization, especially among Christian tribes in rural areas. A case in point

is the community of Abeddya, not far from Jerusalem… Centuries before the Arabs' arrival, Greek-speaking Christian immigrants from Asia Minor came to provide support for nearby Saint Theodosius monastery. Today, the village is entirely Muslim. When this change occurred, no one knows. Probably through a gradual process of assimilation, the Greek-Christian community adapted the Arabic language, then Arabic culture, and eventually Islam…

Still Arab-Christian theologians continued to flourish in dialogue with Islam. Where Greek- oriented doctrinal statements concerning the nature of God and of Christ clashed directly with Muslim monotheism, Palestinian theologians bridged the gap for fruitful discussion. Familiar illustrations for the Trinity, such as the sun with its beams of light and heat, first originated in these discussions. John of Damascus [Mansur] made his home at the Mar Saba monastery where he defended the Christian use of images, wrote magnificent hymns, and produced a host of theological treatises.

Arab Christians played a strong cultural and societal role in the Abbasid reign. Christians were employed in key financial and professional positions. The caliphs' great open-mindedness created groups of translators who became well known around 830 as the famous *Beit al-Hikma*, the House of Wisdom. The translation of Greek philosophy and other sciences proceeded at an accelerated rate to make Baghdad, under Haroun al-Rashid, a capital without peer in the medieval world. Al-Farabi (the philosopher known as the Second Aristotle), Yihya ibn ʿAdi (who also wrote about the Trinity and soteriology)… and other Arab Christians contributed to the Golden Age of Islam while Europe groped through its Dark Ages.

(Younan 2003: 9–10)

Archives within Archives: The Plundering of Palestine and Palestinian Archival Collections, Documents and Books inside Israeli Libraries

The 1948 Palestinian Nakba was a turning point in the history of modern Palestine and the Palestinian people – that year more than 500 ancient villages and towns were destroyed and their inhabitants driven out, a whole country and its people disappeared from international maps, official encyclopaedias, dictionaries and archives. In 1948 Palestinian libraries and archival collections were systematically looted by Israel; a special unit was set up by the Israeli army for the collection of the books and manuscripts from Palestinians' homes in 1948. This unit also took part in the looting of tens of thousands of books, manuscripts and archival collections from Palestinian private libraries in West Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and elsewhere, and the stolen books were eventually deposited in the National and

Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem (later renamed the National Library of Israel) under the headings 'Abandoned Property' and 'Absentee Property' (Amit 2011: 6–23; R. Khalidi 2020: 257–8, n. 40). The plundering of Palestinian archives by the Israeli army in 1948 showed the utter colonial contempt for the indigenous heritage of Palestine. The Israeli archives are full of looted Palestinian archival materials, archival and photographic collections, while Palestine and its historic villages, towns and cities have been erased from Israeli consciousness (Azoulay 2019; Kadman 2015; Masalha 2012: 135–47; 229–50; Sela 2018[2]). The systematic destruction of Palestinian infrastructure and institutions, the looting of Palestinian private libraries, records, books and documents and the appropriation of the cultural and material heritage of Palestine and historic sites – a typical settler-colonial process of cultural appropriation in the wake of dispossessions and the conquest of ancient towns and cities – made it possible for many Israeli historians to silence the voices of indigenous Palestinians and argue that Palestine was a modern invention and that Palestinians were 'near-complete[ly] illiterate' people until 1990 (Aaylon 2004: 1), an allegedly 'illiterate population' with no 'written documents' or documentary history (Masalha 2012: 1–4, 134–47; Morris 1994: 42–3) until the arrival of the modern Zionist settlers from Europe.

Among the private libraries and cultural properties of Jerusalemite Palestinians looted by the Israeli army in 1948 were the library and manuscript collections of Khalil Beidas, a graduate of the Russian schools and the Teachers' Training Seminary of Nazareth in the late nineteenth century – a unique library of old manuscripts and valuable books as well as a Stradivarius violin – all of which were lost, together with many of his own manuscript compositions, when Beidas was forced out of his home in Jerusalem and ended up in Beirut in 1948. Beidas, who died in 1949, did not live very long after the loss of his country (Said 1999: 113–14) and his library is thought to reside within the Jewish National University Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In addition to the looting of Palestinian private and public libraries, the looting of Palestinian visual archives and photographic collections by the Israeli army in 1948 (as well as from the archives of the Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut in 1982 and the Palestinian Orient House Archives in East Jerusalem in 2001) was uncovered by Israeli researcher Rona Sela, who discovered large collections of looted Palestinian photographs as well as visual images of Palestinian history kept in the restricted military archives of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in Tel Aviv (on exposing hidden Palestinian history, see Sela 2018).

In addition to the looting of Palestinian private libraries, photographic collections and visual history in 1948, the appropriation of the artefacts and manuscript heritage of ancient Palestine continued after 1948 and intensified after Israeli settler-colonial occupation of the West Bank in 1967. The Israeli 'Shrine of the Book' (*Heikhal HaSefer*), a wing of the Israel Museum in West Jerusalem, was created in 1965 technically to house the Dead Sea Scrolls and ancient Hebrew texts. But the Dead Sea Scrolls (or the Qumran archives), with documents in

Aramaic, Greek and Hebrew reflected the mixed multicultural and multilinguistic heritage of ancient Palestine, while in reality the Israeli 'Shrine of the Book' – a building with a 'white' dome against a 'black' wall – is a triumphalist monument to the rise of modern Zionism, the early Zionist 'war of languages' and the current hegemonic modern Hebrew settler nationalism. The museum also symbolizes the construction of a European Zionist exclusive and pure 'Jewish heritage' in Jerusalem and a hierarchical settler-colonial regime in Palestine. It was a political statement and a secular Zionist monument to the New Hebrew Man and his European settler-colonial community (the Yishuv) that began to settle in and colonize Palestine in the period between 1882 and 1948 – a Zionist nationalist shrine designed to present the European colonialism of Palestine as a continuation of an ancient Jewish faith in Palestine, while the indigenous historic Arabic names of geographical sites were replaced by newly coined modern Hebrew names, some of which resembled biblical names.

Paradoxically, for over 2,000 years Jewish communities in Palestine spoke, wrote and produced knowledge in Greek, Aramaic/Syriac and Arabic – with Hebrew confined to a limited use as a liturgical language, not for everyday use. With the rise of secular Jewish Zionism in Europe in the late nineteenth century, modern secular 'Hebrew' was invented and designed to play a major role in the educational and political efforts to create a New Hebrew Man, the mythological *sabra*,[3] an antithesis of the diasporic and European Jew (Rabkin 2006: 54–7; 2010: 129–45), who was to live as a new settler-colonizer in Palestine. Eliezer Perlman (later Eliezer Ben-Yehuda) (1858–1922), a Lithuanian Zionist intellectual who arrived in Palestine in 1881 and became a central figure in the establishment of the Zionist Committee of the Hebrew Language (Va'ad HaLashon, later named the Israeli Academy of the Hebrew Language), became the first to invent 'modern Hebrew' as a vernacular and compiled the first modern Hebrew dictionary, which transformed it from a biblical language and a language of liturgy (*lashon hakodesh*) into a 'secular-nationalist' modern language; while local Jews spoke both Arabic and Yiddish, they objected to the use of the 'holy tongue' (*lashon hakodesh*), Hebrew, for everyday conversation. Only partly based on biblical Hebrew, modern Hebrew was in particular influenced by, borrowed from and coined after the Slavic languages, German, Yiddish, Russian, English, French, Italian, modern Arabic and ancient Aramaic. Yiddish (*idish*, literally 'Jewish') itself was a middle-high German language of Ashkenazi Jewish origin, which developed around the tenth century as a fusion of German dialects with Slavonic languages and biblical Hebrew. It was called *mame-loshn* (literally 'mother tongue') to distinguish it from the liturgical Hebrew of ancient and medieval Palestine.

After the 1967 occupation other ancient manuscripts were also removed from the Palestine Archaeological Museum (the Rockefeller Museum, East Jerusalem) and placed in the Israeli 'Shrine of the Book'. Since 1967 the Palestine Archaeological Museum – a museum completed in the 1930s with the aim of preserving the diverse, multicultural, multifaith and multilayered material,

intellectual and writing heritage of ancient Palestine – has been jointly managed by the Israel Museum and the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Self-Antiquating Modern European Zionism

The lure of self-antiquating and self-racialization in modern European Zionism settler-colonialism (Lentin 2018; Masalha 2007) through the resurrection of a semi-dead language (Masalha 2007; Sternhell 1998) and the Greeking of modern Hebrew (very much along the lines pursued by urban Jewish elites in Roman and Byzantine Palestine) did not escape modern secular (nationalist) European Zionist settler elites in Palestine, European elites who paradoxically also sought to construct foundational myths antithetical to Roman and Byzantine Palestine. In Greco-Roman and Byzantine times the town of Yavne became the centre of Jewish (Aramaic-to-Greek) translation activities and (after the disastrous Jewish rebellion against the Romans in AD 66–70) the seat of the supreme Jewish religious and judicial assembly in Palestine (until AD 425) (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2020b), known by its Greek name, the *sanhadrin* (Greek: *Συνέδριον*, *συνέδριον*, *synedrion*, 'sitting together'), while in modern times, the Ashkenazi intellectual elites of Zionism and the state of Israel, driven by self-antiquating strategies, coined many modern Hebrew terms along the same Hellenizing strategies of Greco-Roman Palestine; Zionist (invented) modern Hebrew terms include *pedagogia* (Greek: παιδαγωγία (*paidagogia*); *historia* (Greek: *ίστορία* [*historía*], 'narration of what is learned'); *academiya* and *akademon* (Greek: *Ἀκαδήμεια*); *archion* (English: archive) derived from the Greek *ἀρχεῖον* (*archeion*); *teatron* (English: theatre), derived from the Greek *θέατρον* (*théatron*, 'a place for viewing'); and *museon* (English: museum), derived from the Greek: *μουσεῖον* (*mouseîon*). Other modern Hebrew names such as '*Technion*' – today Israel's leading Institute of Technology, originally called *Technikum* – and terms such as *mu'adon* (club), *shabaton* (sabbatical), *darkon* (passport), *shvuʾon* (weekly), *hanion* (car park) and *kenion* (shopping mall) were also modelled on Greek forms.

The Libraries, Archival Collections, Bookshops and Sharia Courts' Records of Modern Palestine

Several monasteries in Palestine possess important ancient collections – with limited access by researchers to these church libraries. In addition to the ancient library of the monastery of Mar Saba (see Chapter 3), the library of the Syriac Orthodox monastery of Saint Mark's in Jerusalem is one of the oldest and most famous libraries in the city. It contains a large collection of Syriac and Arabic

manuscripts, including some rare manuscripts produced by some of the early Fathers of the Church written on animal-skin parchments (Dolabani 2009).

In fact, by 1947 (shortly before the Palestinian Nakba) Jerusalem had become a city of libraries, reflecting the cultural and educational renaissance of the city between the late Ottoman period and the Palestine Nakba; private libraries and family archival collections, some with rare historical manuscripts in Arabic and other languages, became the pride and joy of many leading Jerusalemite Arab families. In addition to the Khalidiyya Library, al-Aqsa Library and the Library of the Sharia Court, Jerusalem during the pre-Nakba Mandatory period was packed with major Palestinian private and family libraries, in addition to many school libraries and bookshops. The city had over sixty major private and public Arab libraries, including the library of Shaykh Muhammad Suna'allah al-Khalidi, the library of scholar Khalil al-Khalidi, the library of Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, the library of Hasan al-Turujman, the Budieri family library, the library of Abu Su'ud (Muhammad al-Taher), the library of the al-Khatib family, al-Fityani library, the Lahham family library, the library of Hasan ʿAbdel-Lattif al-Husseini, the library of Ishaq Musa al-Husseini, the library of the Nshashibi family, the Khaliliyya library, the library of Khalil Beidas, the library of Khalil Sakakini, the library of Dar al-Kutub al-Fakhriyya, the library of the Muaqat family, the library of the Qatina family, the library of the Jadallah family and the library of ʿAbdullah Mukhalis (al-ʿAdluni 2010: 627). Moreover, the existence of key family libraries and private archives set up by members of leading Palestinian Muslim families, and graduates of the al-Azhar college in Cairo, during the Ottoman period, was not uncommon in Palestine. For instance, the Budeiri Library (*Maktabat Aʾilat al-Budairiyya*), a private archive in the Old City of Jerusalem, began as a personal library of a Sufi scholar and a graduate of al-Azhar college in Cairo, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Budeiri Ibn Hubaysh (1747–1805). The library currently houses a collection of 900 Islamic manuscripts mostly in Arabic, as well as diaries, personal correspondence and legal documents related to the Budeiri family.

One of the early modern family libraries (*Khizanat al-Kutub*) in Jerusalem was al-Maktaba al-Khaliliyya, which contained many original Arabic manuscripts. It was founded in the eighteenth century by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sharaf al-Din Khalili (b.1734), a Khalili-born Muslim scholar, jurist and historian, and the author of *History of Al-Quds and al-Khalil* (2004). But it was the educational and printing revolution of late Ottoman Palestine that brought about the construction of many personal, family and public libraries and library collections. The most iconic result of this development was the founding of the Khalidiyya Library (al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya) in Jerusalem in 1899–1900, co-founded by Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi and Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi, a brilliant writer, liberal thinker, lecturer in Islamic studies at the Sorbonne, diplomat and talented politician at the turn of the twentieth century (Beška 2016: 181–203; Kasmieh 1992; W. Khalidi 1984: 74). Al-Khalidi also served as Consul-General of the Ottoman state in Bordeaux, France, from 1898 to 1908, while at the same time publishing articles

in *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Manar* magazines in Cairo under the pen name al-Maqdisi (the Jerusalemite) (Beška 2016: 181). Ruhi al-Khalidi was a nephew of the mayor of Jerusalem, Yusuf Diya al-Din Pasha al-Khalidi, and in 1908 he was one of three delegates elected to represent Jerusalem in the new Ottoman parliament, later becoming the deputy to the head of the Ottoman parliament (in 1911). As we have already seen, the great medieval fiqh colleges of Jerusalem were established as Islamic schools, and this great Islamic tradition of charitable *waqf* trust under Islamic law ensured their success and brilliance. Al-Khalidiyya Library was set up as a *family waqf* library in the Old City of Jerusalem. However, ultimately the real beneficiaries of the Khalidiyya Library are the Palestinian public. Today the library is one of the largest and most important Muslim family libraries in the world and a living landmark to Palestine and the Palestinian people. The library houses a large collection of Islamic historical and fiqh manuscripts, a local collection built by Palestinians and a unique Arabic manuscript about the early history of political Zionism written by Ruhi al-Khalidi in the late Ottoman period. The library includes the Raghib al-Khalidi book collection, containing 5,000 manuscripts and 5,000 volumes in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, French and English (Galli 2016: 113). The Khalidiyya Library also houses the first study of Zionism in Arabic written by Ruhi Khalid shortly before the First World War – a precious manuscript I had the opportunity of reading several years ago (al-Khalidi 2020).

The literacy and printing revolution of the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods, and the growing demand for imported writing materials and stationery supplies, led to the expansion in book dealership and of bookshops in Palestine. Also, in modern Palestine, as well as in other countries of the Near East, with the arrival of print capitalism, many bookshops and stationery shops, selling imported consumer goods and writing materials, became closely intertwined. Already in the mid-1860s it was reported that European stationery consumer goods and paper and writing materials, including 'pens, pencils, and paper, and Birmingham wares', were found in a stationery shop in the city of Nablus – the paper and other stationery being imported through the port cities of Jaffa and Beirut and then transported overland to Nablus (Kropf 2018: 69). With the introduction of the printing press and the considerable expansion of the European and Russian missionary schools in Palestine from the 1880s onwards, the importation of European stationery, paper and writing materials increased from the 1880s to 1914. Sometime before the First World War, Wadiʾ Said (Edward Said's father), founded, with his elder cousin Boulus Said, their Palestine Educational Company (*Maktabat Filastin al-ʾIlmiyya*, the 'Palestine Scientific Library'), a well-known stationery shop in Jerusalem, which combined a stationery shop, book dealership and office supplies store. It was a thriving business which in 1929 would be launched off from Palestine into Egypt, with various branches and sub-dealerships in Jerusalem, Cairo, Alexandria and the Suez Canal Zone – a large company that Edward Said describes in his memoir as the 'Standard Stationery Company' (Said 1999: 11), a company that would become one of the biggest Palestinian trading

enterprises (Ayalon 2004: 83; R. Khalidi 2010: 224, n. 29; Said 1999: 11, 113). Today the Arab Educational Bookshop on Salah al-Din Street in East Jerusalem, named after that historic Palestine Educational Company of the late Ottoman and Mandatory period, has a wide-ranging collection of books on Palestinian history, literature, politics and culture in both Arabic and English, and is one of the best bookshops in the Middle East.

In the late nineteenth century Palestinian Christian community (book and manuscript) collections were also maintained in churches, monasteries, convents and foreign mission centres. Some communities, such as the Greek Orthodox Church, centralized their collections, with one collection in Jerusalem containing 2,350 Greek manuscripts. Another remarkable library, apparently originating in the fifth century AD, of the Armenian patriarchate in Jerusalem, located at the Saint James' convent, has more than 20,000 books and more than 3,800 manuscripts in Armenian, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian and Turkish (Galli 2016: 113). Also foreign-funded 'biblical schools', such as the École Biblique Archéologique Française and the American School of Oriental Research, hold large collections (113–14). Also, the libraries of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and the al-Jazzar Mosque (former Ahmadiyya seminary) in Acre contain important collections. Also, of crucial importance are the surviving records of the Islamic Sharia Court of Jerusalem, which consist of more than 500 volumes (with an average of 500 pages each) of proceedings systematically covering more than 400 years of Ottoman rule in Palestine.

Also, in Jerusalem the Beth Ha-Sefarim (House of Books) collection, which originated in 1884, reached 22,000 volumes in 1892 (Galli 2001*:* 115). This collection formed the core of what later became the Jewish National and University Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem established in 1925.

Among the oldest and largest public libraries in the West Bank is the Nablus Municipal Library. Established in 1960 in a nineteenth-century building that had been a café, it contains an older personal library: the Qadri Tuqan library. Besides its collection of 80,000 books, mostly in Arabic, the library houses several important archival collections, including a collection of Islamic Sharia Court records (*Sijill*) from northern Palestine spanning the Mandatory period and the Prisoners' Section, an archive of materials related to Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails between 1975 and 1995, as well as the personal collection of Dr Qadri Tuqan, a Nablusi educator and a co-founder of al-Najah college (now al-Najah University) in the 1920s.[4]

NOTES

Introduction

1 The 'proto-Canaanite (or Old Canaanite) script, associated with the 'Sinaitic inscriptions', was spread by the Phoenicians around the Mediterranean region and led to the Greek alphabet (Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 2012).

2 The literature includes Abu-Ghazaleh (1972: 37–63; 1973), Abu-Lughod (1973: 94–111), Abu-Rabiʾa (2001), Bashkin (2018), Bray, Mazawi and Sultana (2013), Fortna (2002), Furas (2019: 257–73; 2020), Kalisman (2015), Kaplan (2006), Morrison (2005), Thompson (2000).

3 On Arab musical influences on the European musical tradition, see Farmer (1925, 1929).

4 Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566) has been known to both Turks and Arabs as 'Kanunî Sultan Süleyman', 'The Lawgiver Suleiman', probably since the early eighteenth century (Kafadar 1993: 41). His reforms of the Ottoman legal system sought to harmonize the relationship between the two forms of Ottoman law: the *kanuns* of the sultan (developing into the Ottoman secular *kanun-name*) and Islamic sharia law.

Chapter 1

1 Early forms of writing emerged gradually; they evolved from pictorial representations and drawings of natural and human activities, drawn for religious, administrative and commercial purposes as well as for record-keeping and counting (Taha 2018).

2 The site was inhabited 6,000 years ago and reached its zenith in the Middle Bronze Age (around 2500 to 2000 BC), when its cyclopean wall, monumental gates, fortress temple, and domestic quarters were built. See Nigro (2018: 1–13); Taha (2018); Taha and van der Kooij (2014).

Chapter 2

1 Catechesis (*κατήχησις*): 'instruction by word of mouth', or instruction from a catechist in the basic principles of Christian doctrine.

2 The Palestinian village of ʿImwas, near the Latrun junction, before its destruction by the Israeli army in June 1967.

3 'Blessed and Prosperous Arabia'.
4 The term Hexapla (*Ἑξαπλᾶ*) is used for an edition of the Old Testament in six versions, a word-for-word comparison of the Greek Septuagint with Greek translations.
5 'New city of the emperor Flavius'.
6 Stoicism, developed in the early third century BC, was a philosophy of personal ethics and personal behaviour informed by a system of logic.
7 Originating from the Greek *ὀνομαστικός*, onomastics is the study of the etymology, history and uses of names.
8 The hexameter was a metrical line of verses in classical Greek and Latin literature as in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Aeneid*.
9 In the letters collection of Procopius of Gaza and *Dialexis*, we find the following about the arrival of the (polytheistic) Spring (Rose) Festival in Gaza and his remarks on the classical cult love of Adonis and Aphrodite (Westberg 2017: 403).
10 Scholia (sing. *Scholion*) from *σχόλιον* are grammatical critical or explanatory comments that are inserted in the margins of manuscripts.

Chapter 3

1 Yahya Ibn Said al-Antaki (d.1040) was a medical practitioner (*mutabbib*) and historian. He was born in Fatimid Egypt but was forced to leave the country in 1016 due to the anti-Christian persecution of the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021). He arrived in Byzantine-held Antioch (Kazhdan 1991c). Al-Antaki's historical work in Arabic – covering the years 937 to 1034 – was an adaptation and continuation of the Arabic *Annals* of Said Ibn Batriq, one of the early Egyptian writers to use the Arabic language, whose writings included the chronicle *Nazm al-Jawhar* ('Row of Jewels').
2 Manichaeism was a major religion founded in the third century AD in the Sasanian Empire, which thrived between the third and seventh centuries; at its height it was one of the most widespread religions in the ancient world and was the main rival to Christianity before the spread of Islam.
3 A monk of Mar Saba.
4 Ibn Naʾima al-Himsi, a Melkite Christian who belonged to the al-Kindi circle of translators in Baghdad who rendered Greek texts into Arabic.
5 The library of the All Palestine Orthodox Church of Jerusalem itself contained some 2,350 old Greek manuscripts.
6 A Georgian monk, writer and calligrapher of the eighth century.
7 Hilarion the Iberian lived at Mar Saba for seven years (847–854).
8 Ioane-Zosime (John Zosimos), a tenth-century monk, religious writer and calligrapher known for his liturgical compilations and hymns dedicated to the Georgian language. His voluminous body of work at Mar Saba dates from between 949 and 987.
9 al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani (AD 535–604), who played an important role in the spread of classical Arabic poetry, was associated with the Ghassanid tribal kings of Palaestina Secunda. He also became known by his Christian Arab name Ilyas and later 'Ilyas from the Land of the Gospel' ('Ilyas min ard al-Bishara') or 'Elias of the Holy Land'. See Masalha (2018: 144–5).
10 Kamal Boullata's essay 'Daoud Zalatimo and Jerusalem Painting During the Early Mandate' (2010) on the art of Zalatimo was excerpted from Boullata's study of Palestinian art (2009).

Chapter 4

1 For an exception, see, for instance, Hillenbrand (1999).
2 A region in southern Italy bordering the Adriatic Sea to the east.

Chapter 5

1 Today Shujaʾiyya is one of the largest neighbourhoods in Gaza with up to 100,000 residents and contains several ancient structures, mosques and tombs.
2 His works represent one of the most exciting and dynamic periods in the development of medieval Islamic thought (Netton 1999).
3 A similar proportion of waqf properties (20–25 per cent) also existed in Acre in the late Ottoman period (Reiter, Eordegian and Khallaf 2010: 110).
4 For instance, in 1948 the Jerusalemite Hind al-Husseini (1916–94) converted her grandfather's grand mansion (built in 1891) into an orphanage and school (*Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*), providing education to orphans and disadvantaged Palestinian children. She also established Hind al-Husseini College for Women in 1982.
5 For instance, in 1184 Damascus boasted twenty madrasas, two hospitals, many caravansarais and numerous lodges for Sufi teachers, while Baghdad of the twelfth century had a great hospital and thirty madrasas, 'each housed in an imposing building and supported by its own separate endowment (*waqf*)' (Faris 1985: 11).
6 Quoted in the Introduction to *The Policy Basis,* by Ayyubid minister Jamal al-Din ibn Yusuf al-Qifti (Manuscript, Saint Petersburg, Jalil al-ʿAtiyya's review, Beirut, Dar al-Taliʾah, 2008 [in Arabic]); al-Qadi al-Fadil (1961), Mahmoud (n.d.),and Dajani-Shakeel (1977: 25–38; 1993).
7 *Seyaḥat-name* was also published in 1935–40 by Palestinian scholar Stephan Hanna Stephan, who worked for the Mandatory Palestine Department of Anyiqiuty (Stephan 1935–1942). See also Glock (1994: 70–84).

Chapter 6

1 See ʿIzzidin Manasira, *Al-Bayadir* (Tunis), nos. 7–8 (1992).
2 Al-Tumurtashi's teachers at the Azhar were the *mufti of Egypt,* al-Shaykh Amin ʿAbdel al-ʿAl, and the Egptian mufti Najm al-Din b. Nujaymand. Among the most important of al-Ramli's teachers at the Azhar college was ʿAbd Allah b. Muhammad al-Nahriri (d.1617), one of the most important Hanafis who taught in the Azhar college, and who, in addition to his public lectures there, taught al-Ramli and his brother privately (Burak 2015: 194).
3 The *muftis* who did not have a state appointment referred in their rulings to teachers with whom they had studied across the Arab lands. Al-Timurtashi referred in his fatwas to late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Egyptian authorities, such as Burhan al-Din al-Karaki (Burak 2015: 194).
4 Al-Tabari was subsequently appointed by the Ottomans as *mufti* of Tiberias at the age of twenty-one and served on the Supreme Muslim Council, and later as *qadi* of Nazareth from 1950 to 1959 (Peled 2012: 159).
5 Mehmed Köprülü Pasha (*c.* 1575–1661) was the founder of a family of senior Ottoman officials, army officers and viziers. The family produced six grand viziers of the Ottoman Empire and dominated the administration during the second half

of the seventeenth century and were known for their efforts to reform the Ottoman bureaucracy.

6 The diary is being kept in the Israeli National and University Library in Jerusalem among the archives, books and diaries Israel stole from the Palestinians in 1948; see Foster (2018: 191–207; 2020).

Chapter 8

1 On late Ottoman educational policies, see Fortna (2002).
2 Ottoman lira was the currency of the Ottoman Empire between 1844 and 1923.
3 The building is now part of the Israeli Ministry of Education.

Chapter 9

1 Material held at the SOAS Archives (University of London) includes correspondence and papers exchanged between Bishop Blyth and Khalil Sakakini, and ʿIsa al-ʿIsa discussing activities of the Arabic Literary Club and educational matters in Palestine in the period 1903–04 (Jisc n.d.).
2 Khalil Sakakini, *'Such Am I, O World!': Diaries of Khalil al-Sakakini* (1990), pp. 121, 125, cited in Segev (1999: 108).
3 His publications include:*Al-Ihtithaa bi-Hithaa al-Ghayr* [Wearing Someone Else's Shoes] (Jerusalem, 1896); *Mutalaʾat Fil-Lugaha wal-Adab* [Studies in Language and Literature] (Jerusalem, 1920); *Filastin Baʾd al-Harb al-Kubra* [Palestine after the Great War] (Jerusalem, 1920); *Al-Jadid fi-Qiraa al-ʿArabiyya* [New in Arabic Reading], 5 volumes (1924–33); *Sirri* [Confidential] (Jerusalem, 1935); *Hashiyat al-Lugha* [Footnote on Language] (Jerusalem, 1938); *Hashiya ʿAla Taqrir Lanjnat al-Nazar fi Tayseer Qawaʾid al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* [Footnote to the Report of the Committee on the Consideration of Facilitation of Arabic Grammar] (Jerusalem, 1938); *Lithikrak* [To Remind You] (Jerusalem, 1940); *Wa-ʿAlayhi Qis* (Jerusalem, 1943); *Ma-Tayassar* [What Became Available], 2 volumes (Jerusalem, 1943 and 1946); *Al-Usul fi-Taʾalim al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* [The Fundamentals in Teaching the Arabic Language], 2 textbooks (Jerusalem, 1934 and 1946).

Chapter 10

1 Tibawi was one of the earliest graduates of the Government Arabic College (*Dar al-Muʾallimin*) in Al-Quds and he studied Arabic literature and history at the American University of Beirut and later earned his PhD from the University of London in 1948.

Chapter 11

1 Palestinian poet Muʾin Bseiso (1926–84) graduated from Gaza secondary modern school in 1948 and went on to graduate from the American University of Cairo in 1952.
2 Announcement in *Al-Sarih* weekly magazine (Jaffa), 6 January 1948 [in Arabic].

Epilogue

1 Most of the manuscript is kept today in the British Library in London.
2 Dr Rona Sela of Tel Aviv University, who researched Zionist photography before 1948, discovered that 'Palestinian history was intentionally missing'. She published her research on the restricted parts of Israeli archives, resulting in a 2017 documentary: *Looted and Hidden: Palestinian Archives in Israel* (2018).
3 For further discussion of the 'mythological sabra', see Zerubavel (2002: 115–44).
4 Another Palestinian national figure who was associated with al-Najah College was poet ʿAbd al-Rahim Mahmoud (1913–48), who graduated from, and taught Arabic literature at, the college.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abba Dorotheos. 2013. 'Twenty-First Instruction of Abba Dorotheos. A Commentary on Certain Expressions of St. Gregory Concerning the Holy Martyrs', *Orthodox Christianity* 30 June. https://orthochristian.com/62475.html.

ʿAbdel-Munʿim, Suleiman. 2005. *Akka: Madinat al-Tarikh and Bawwabat al-Ahdath* [Acre: City of History and Gate of Events] (Acre: Dar ʿAbdel-Munʿim).

Abdul-Hamid, Husein, Harry Patrinos, Joel Reyes, Jo Kelcey and Andrea Diaz Varela. 2016. *Learning in the Face of Adversity*: *UNRWA Education Program for Palestine Refugees* (Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank).

Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan. 1972. 'Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1 (3) (Spring): 37–63.

Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan. 1973. *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies).

Abu Hanna, Hanna. 1994. *Dar al-Muʿallimeen al-Rusiyya for al-Nasira, ʿal-Seminarʾ (1886–1914) wa-Atharuha ʿala al-Nahda al-Adabiyya fi-Felastin* [The Russian Teacher Training Seminary in Nazareth and its Impact on the Literary Renaissance in Palestine] (Jerusalem: The Arab Cultural Department, Ministry of Education) [in Arabic].

Abu Hanna, Hanna. 2005. *Khirriju al-Madaris al-Rusiyya: Talaʾi al-Nahda for Filastin, 1862–1914* [*Graduates of the Russian Schools: Pioneers of the Reawakening in Palestine, 1862–1914*] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies).

Abulhab, Saad D. 2013. *Inscriptional Evidence of Pre-Islamic Classical Arabic* (NewYork: Blautopf).

Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim. 1973. 'Educating a Community in Exile: The Palestinian Experience', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2 (3) (Spring): 94–111.

Abu-Rabiʿa, ʿArif. 2001. *A Bedouin Century: Education and Development among the Negev Tribes in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books).

Abu-Sitta, Salman. 2020. *Atlas of Palestine, 1871–1877* (London: Palestine Land Society).

Adamec, Ludwig W. 2009. *Historical Dictionary of Islam* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press).

Al-ʿadluni, Muhammad Akram. 2010. 'The Role of Civil Society Institutions in the Protection of the Cultural and Civilisational Heritage of Jerusalem', in Muhsin Muhammad Salih (ed.), *Studies in the Cultural Heritage of the City of Jerusalem* (Beirut: al-Zaytuna Centre): 619–29 [in Arabic].

Adorno, T. W. with Max Horkheimer. [1947] 2002. *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

Adorno, T. W. with Max Horkheimer. [1966] 1990. *Negative Dialectics* (London: Routledge).

Ahmad, Ruwaida Fadel. 2015. 'Al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya fi al-Quds (1336–1918)' [Al-Salahiyya College in Jerusalem, 1336–1918], MA dissertation, al-Najah University.

Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. 2009. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
Al-Antaki, Yahya d'Antioche. 1957. *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Said d'Antioche, Continuateur de Saʾïd-Ibn-Bitriq*. Vol. 1 (Paris: Firmin-Didot & Cie).
Al-ʿarif, ʿArif. 1961. *Al-Mufassal fi Tarikh al-Quds* (Jerusalem: Dar al-Andalus).
Albkeir, Marwan Andel-Qader. 2005. 'Al-Madina al-Filastiniyya fir ʿAsr al-Mamaleek' [The Palestinian City during the Mamluk Age], MA dissertation, University of Birzeit. https://fada.birzeit.edu/bitstream/20.500.11889/1599/1/thesis_32.pdf.
Albright, W. F. 1942. 'A Teacher to a Man of Shechem about 1400 BC', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (86): 28–31.
Al-dabbagh, Mustafa Murad. 1965. *Biladuna Filasṭin*. Vol. 2, Part 2 [Our Country Palestine] (Beirut: Dar al-Ṭaliʾah).
al-Dabbagh, Mustafa Murad. 1965 and 1972–1986. *Biladuna Filastin* [Our Country, Palestine] 11 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Taliʾah and Dar al-Huda).
Al-Farabi. 1985. *Al-Farabi on the Perfect State: Abu Naṣr Al-Farabi's Mabadiʾ Ara Ahl al-Madina al-Faḍila* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid. 1999. *Deliverance from Error: An Annotated Translation of Al-Munqidh Min Al Dal–al and Other Relevant Works of Al-Ghazali* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae).
Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid. 2016. *The Jerusalem Epistle: A Tract on the Fundamentals of Muslim Doctrine* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing).
Al-Hout, Bayan Nuweihid. 1979. 'The Palestinian Political Elite during the Mandatory Period', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 9 (1): 85–111.
Al-Jaḥiẓ. 1959. *Kitab Al-Bayan Wa Al-Tabyin* [Book of the Elegance of Expression and Clarity of Exposition] (Beirut: Al-Maktaba al-ʿAsriyya).
Al-Juʾbeh, Nazmi. 2008. 'Hebron Glass: A Centuries-old Tradition', *This Week in Palestine*, 25 January. http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id=2133&edid=140.
Al-Juʾbeh, Nazmi and Yusuf Natsheh. 2010. 'Islamic Palestine: History, Politics and Religion', in Mahmoud Hawari, Yusuf Natsheh and Nazmi Al-Juʾbeh (eds), *Pilgrimage, Sciences and Sufism: Islamic Art in the West Bank and Gaza* (Ramallah: Ministry of Culture and Museum with No Frontiers): 35–51.
Al-Khalidi, Muhammad Ruhi. 2020. *Zionism or the Zionist Question: The First Academic Study on Zionism in Arabic*, edited by Walid Khalidi (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies) [in Arabic].
Al-Khalili, Jim. 2012. *The House of Wisdom: How Arabic Science Saved Ancient Knowledge and Gave Us the Renaissance* (London: Penguin Books).
al-Khalili, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sharaf al-Din. 2004. *Tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil* [History of Jerusalem and al-Khalil], edited by Muhammad Adnan Al-bakhit and Nufan Raja Al-sawariah (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation).
Al-Khatib, Muhammad Nimr. 1951. *Min Athar al-Nakba* [Some of the Consequences of the Catastrophe] (Damascus).
Allen, Pauline. 1980. 'Zachariah Scholasticus and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 31 (2): 471–88.
Allen, Roger (ed.). 2010. *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1850–1950* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag).
Al-lubani, ʿIssa Ibrahim. 2014. *Safahat Matwiyya min al-Tarikh* [Folded Pages of History] (Amman: Dar al-Mamun).
al-Mahdi, Abdeljawwad. 2005. (ed.) Sharh al-Urjuza al-Yasaminiyya fi al-Jabr wal-Muqabala, by Ibn al-Haim al-Misri (1352-1412) (Tunis: The Tunisian Association for Mathematical Studies).

Al-Maqdisi (al-Muqaddasi; al-Mukaddasi), Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shams al–Din. 1866. *Description of Syria, Including Palestine* (Bengal: Asiatic Society of Bengal).
Al-Maqdisi (al-Muqaddasi; al-Mukaddasi), Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shams al-Din. 1994. *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* [Ahasan al-Taqasim Fi Maʾrifat al-Aqalim] (Reading: Garnet Publishing).
Al-Maqdisi (al-Muqaddasi; al-Mukaddasi), Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shams al-Din. 2002. *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Maʾrifat al-Aqalim* [The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions] (Beirut: Dar alKutub alʿIlmiyya).
al-Marʾashli, Yousef Bin ʿAbdel-Rahman. 2008. *Nathr al-Jawahir wal-Durar fi ʿUlama al-Qarn al-Rabiʾ ʿAshar wa-Bithaylihi* [Sprinkling Gems and Pearls on the Scholars of Fourteenth Century [H.] and its Appendix]. Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Maʾarifa).
al-Natsheh, Yusuf. 2021a. 'Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya', Museum With No Frontiers. http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;ISL;pa;Mon01;8;en.
al-Natsheh, Yusuf. 2021b. 'Madrasa al-Salahiyya', Museum with No Frontiers. http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monuments;ISL;pa;Mon01;33;en.
al-Qadi al-Fadil. 1961. *Diwan al-Qadi al-Fadil* (Cairo: Matabiʾ Dar al-Kitab al-ʿArabi).
al-Ramli, al-Walid bin Hammad. 2019. *The Virtues of Jerusalem: An Analytical Study and Critical Reconstruction of 'Fadaʾil Bayt al-Maqdis'* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies) [in Arabic].
Alshweikh, Jihad. 2014a. 'History of Education in Palestine: Time to Reconsider', *This Week in Palestine* (April): 66–8. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/86432903.pdf.
Alshwaikh, Jehad. 2014b. 'History of Education in Palestine: Time to Reconsider', *This Week in Palestine*, (199) (November). http://www.birzeit.edu/en/blogs/history-education-palestine-time-reconsider.
al-Tumurtashi, Salih ibn Ahmad. 1106–1107 AH; 1695–1696. *Al-Khabar al-Tam for Dhikr al-Ard al-Muqaddasah wa-Hududiha wa-Dhikr Ard Filastin wa-Hududiha wa-Sham* [The Complete Knowledge in Remembering the Holy Land and its Boundaries and Remembering Palestine and its Boundaries and al-Sham] (Abu Dis, Jerusalem: Markez Ihyai al-Turath al-Islami).
al-Turk, Sadiq Ahmad Ibrahim. 1998. 'Study of Salih ibn Ahmad al-Tumurtashi's manuscript *Al-Khabar al-Tam for Dhikr al-Ard al-Muqaddasah wa-Hududiha wa-Dhikr Ard Filastin wa-Hududiha wa- Sham*', MA Dissertation, al-Najah University, Palestine.
Amar, Zohar. 2002. *The History of Medicine in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
Amar, Zohar, Azriel Gorski and Izhar Neumann. 2010. 'The Paper and Textile Industry in the Land of Israel and its Raw Materials in Light of the Analysis of the Cairo Genizah Documents', in Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (eds), *From a Sacred Source: Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*. Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill): 25–42.
Amara, Muhammad Hasan. 1999. *Politics and Sociolinguistic Reflexes: Palestinian Border Villages* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company).
American Friends of the Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem (AFEDJ). 2021. 'Arab Evangelical Episcopal School, Ramallah, West Bank'. https://afedj.org/institution/arab-evangelical-episcopal-school-ramallah-west-bank/
Amit, Gsh. 2011. 'Salvage or Plunder? Israel's "Collection" of Private Palestinian Libraries in West Jerusalem', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40 (4) (Summer): 6–23.
Ammianus Marcellinus. [*c.* 380] 1935. *The Roman History of Ammianus Marcellinus*. Vol. 1, bk 14. http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Ammian/14*.html.
Anabsi, Ghalib. 1992. From the 'Merits of the Holy Land' Literature, MA thesis, Tel Aviv University [in Hebrew].
Andrews, Reath. 2006. *Agency and Autonomy in Kant's Moral Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

ʿAnqawi, Ibrahim. 2015. 'Disutes Regarding the First Palestinian Novel', 25 April [in Arabic]. http://alqudslana.com/index.php?action=article&id=5754.
An-Najah National University. 2018–2019. *Facts & Figures*. https://www-cdn.najah.edu/media/filer_public/fa/d8/fad86598-0c20-4866-9a12-ca9c293cdc98/facts_figures_2018_2019_en.pdf.
Arasteh, Reza. 1962. *Education and Social Wakening in Iran* (Leiden: Brill).
Archaeological Data Service. 2005. 'Roman Amphorae: A Digital Resource: Amphorae Produced in Palestine', University of Southampton, updated 2014. https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/search_dl.cfm?pplace=Palestine&CFID=5e29a42c-f357-4d01-a182-93f072cfa207&CFTOKEN=0.
Aristotle. 2009. *The Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Asali, Kamil Jamil and Salih Hamarinah (eds). 1996. *Jerusalem's Heritage, Essays in Memory of Kamil Jamil Asali* (Amman: Maṭbaʿat al-Jamiʿah al-Urduniyya).
Asbridge, Thomas. 2012. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London: Simon & Schuster).
Atiya, Aziz S. 1965. 'St. John Damascene: Survey of the Unpublished Versions of his Arabic Works in Sinai', in George Makdisi (ed.), *Arab and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Leiden: Brill): 73–83.
Auld, Sylvia, Robert Hillenbrand and Yusuf Said Natsheh (eds). 2000. *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*. Vol. 1 (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust).
Avgerinou, M. and J. Ericson. 1997. 'A Review of the Concept of Visual Literacy', *British Journal of Educational Technology* 28 (4): 280–91.
Avni, Gideon. 2014. *The Byzantine–Islamic Transition in Palestine: An Archaeological Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Ayalon, Ami. 2004. *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy 1900–1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Azoulay, Ariella Aïsha. 2019. *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (London: Verso).
Baffioni, Carmela. 2016. 'Ikhwân al-Safâʾ', in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2016 Edition). https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/ikhwan-al-safa/.
Baktir, Hasan. 2013. 'Evliya Celebi's *Seyahtname* and the Holiness of Jerusalem', in Judy A. Hayden and I. Nabil Matar (eds), *Through the Eyes of the Beholder, 1517–1713* (Leiden: Brill): 111–20.
Bale, Anthony (ed.). 2019. *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Ball, Warwick. 2000. *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (London: Routledge).
Baransi, Salih. 1981. 'Oral History: The Story of a Palestinian under Occupation', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 11 (1) (Autumn): 3–30.
Barjeel Art Foundation. n.d. 'Madonna of the Oranges'. https://www.barjeelartfoundation.org/collection/ismail-shammout-madonna-of-the-oranges/.
Barnard, L. W. 2008. *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Barnes, Timothy D. 1981. *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Barroso Triston, Jose Maria. 2013. 'Henry Giroux: The Necessity of Critical Pedagogy in Dark Times', 6 February. https://truthout.org/articles/a-critical-interview-with-henry-giroux/.
Bashkin, Orit. 2018. *Three Syrian intellectuals, a French Jewish Officer, and the Question of Late Ottoman Pluralism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Bean, John C. 2011. *Engaging Ideas: The Professor's Guide to Integrating Writing, Critical Thinking and Active Learning in the Classroom* (New York: John Wiley).

Belayche, Nicole. 2004. 'Pagan Festivals in Fourth-Century Gaza', in Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky (eds), *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill): 5–22.
Berglund, Carl Johan. 2018. 'Interpreting Readers: The Role of Greco-Roman Education in Early Interpretation of New Testament Writings', in Florian Wilk (ed.), *Scriptural Interpretation at the Interface between Education and Religion* (Brill: Leiden): 204–47.
Berkey, Jonathan Porter. 2014. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Bernal, Martin. 1987. *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press).
Beška, Emanuel. 2015. 'Khalil al-Sakakini and Zionism before WWI', *Jerusalem Quarterly* (63/64): 40–53.
Beška, Emanuel. 2016. 'Anti-Zionist Attitudes and Activities of Ruhi al-Khalidi', in Zuzana Gažáková and Jaroslav Drobný (eds), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Ján Pauliny* (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave): 181–203.
Bethlehem University. 2020. https://www.bethlehem.edu/.
Bethlehem University. n.d. 'Mission and History'. https://web.archive.org/web/20140207235951/http://bethlehem.edu/about/mission-history.
Bierman, Irene A. 1998. *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Binns, John. 1994. *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine 314–631* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
Bischoff, Bernhard and Michael Lapidge (eds). 1995. *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Bishara, Azmi. 2020. 'The Word "secular" from the Fourth Century AH, and "secular" and "secularists" from the Fifth Century', Arab Centre for Research & Policy Studies 8 April [in Arabic]. https://www.dohainstitute.org/ar/ResearchAndStudies/Pages/Azmi-Bishara-on-the-Use-of-the-Arabic-Word-Secular-Since-the-Tenth-Century.aspx.
Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria and Aryeh Kofsky. 2006. *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Leiden: Brill).
Blair, Sheila S. and Jonathan M. Bloom. 1995. *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
Blau, Joshua. 1966–1967. *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*. Vols 267, 276, 279 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO).
Bloom, Jonathan M. and Sheila S. Blair (eds). 2009. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*. Vols 1–3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Bogolepov, Alexander A. 2005. 'The Hymns of the Orthodox Church' in *Orthodox hymns of Christmas, Holy Week and Easter* (New York: Russian Orthodox Theological Fund). https://archive.is/20050622235544/http://home.it.net.au/~jgrapsas/pages/Hymns.html#selection-241.134–241.575.
Bonner, Stanley F. 2012. *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (London: Routledge).
Booth, Alan D. 1981. 'The Chronology of Jerome's Early Years', *The Phoenix* (Autumn): 237–59.
Bosworth, C., E. E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and C. Pellat (eds). 1980. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill).
Boullata, Issa J. 2010. *A Retired Gentleman: And Other Stories* (London: Banipal).
Boullata, Kamal. 2009. *Palestinian Art, 1850–2005* (London: Saqi).
Boullata, Kamal. 2010. 'Daoud Zalatimo and Jerusalem Painting during the Early Mandate', *Palestine Studies* (44). https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78399.

Bowersock, Glen W. 1994. *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Bowersock, Glen W. 2007. 'Hellenism and Islam', in Eva R. Hoffman (ed.), *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World* (Malden, MA: Blackwell): 85–96.
Boyer, Carl B. 1991. *A History of Mathematics* (New York: John Wiley).
Boyle, Helen N. 2004. *Quranic Schools: Agents of Preservation and Change* (London: Routledge).
Bray, Mark, Andre E Mazawi and Ronald G. Sultana (eds). 2013. *Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean: Power Dynamics and Implications for Learning and Equity* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers).
Brayboorke, Marcus. 2009. *Beacons of the Light: 100 Hundred People who Have Shaped the Spiritual History of Mankind* (Ropley, UK: O Books).
Brett, Michael. 2005. 'Badr al-Ghamali and the Fatimid Renascence', in Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Leuven: Peeters): 61–78.
British Library. n.d. 'Manuscript Collection at al-Jazzar Mosque Library in Acre [10th Century – early 19th Century]'. https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP399-1.
Broadbridge, Anne F. 1999. 'Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt', *Mamluk Studies Review* 3: 85–107.
Brock, Sebastian. 2001. 'Syrian into Greek at Mar Saba: The Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven: Peeters): 201–08.
Brockliss, Laurence (ed.). 1990. *History of Universities*, Vol. 8: *1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Brooks, E. W. (ed.). 1919–1924. *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (Louvain: L. Durbecq).
Budin, Stephanie Lynn. 2009. *The Ancient Greeks: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Burak, Guy. 2013. 'Dynasty, Law, and the Imperial Provincial Madrasa: The Case of al-Madrasa al-ʿUthmaniyya in Ottoman Jerusalem', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45: 111–25.
Burak, Guy. 2015. *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Hanafi School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Burckhardt, John Lewis. 1822. *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: J. Murray).
Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, 1987. *Mamluk Jerusalem. An Architectural Study* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust).
Burns, Robert Ignatius. 1985. *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror, Jaume I, 1257–1276*, Vol. 3: *Transition of Crusader Valencia: Years of Triumph, Years of War, 1264–1270* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Büssow, Johann. 2011a. 'Children of the Revolution: Youth in Palestinian Public Life 1908–14', in Yuval Ben-Bassat and Eyal Ginio (eds), *Late Ottoman Palestine: The Period of Young Turk Rule* (London: I.B. Tauris): 55–80.
Büssow, Johann. 2011b: *Hamadan Palestine: Politics and Society in the District of Jerusalem*, *1872–1908* (Leiden: Brill).
Bustani, Fuad Afram. 1980. *Yahya ibn Sarjun* (Beirut: Al-Daira Publications).
Butzer, P. L. 1995. 'Mathematics in Egypt and its Connections with the Court School of Charlemagne', in Mourad E. H. Ismail, D. R. Masson and M. Rahman (eds), *Contemporary Mathematics*, Vol. 190: *Mathematical Analysis, Wavelets, and Signal Processing: an International Conference on Mathematical Analysis and Signal Processing*, Cairo University, Cairo (Providence, Rhode Island: American Mathematical Society): 1–30.

Cameron, Alan. 2016. *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Cameron, Averil. 1985. *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London: Duckworth).
Cameron, Averil. 2006. *The Byzantines* (Oxford: Blackwell).
Cameron, Averil and Niels Gaul (eds). 2017. *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium* (London: Routledge).
Campos, Michelle U. 2011. *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
Caplan, Gerald, with Ruth B. Caplan. 1980. *Arab and Jew in Jerusalem: Explorations in Community Mental Health* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Carriker, Andrew James. 2003. *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Leiden: Brill).
Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1986. 'The Nature and Value of Equality', *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 11 (4): 373–90.
Champion, Michael W. 2014. *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late Antiquity Gaza* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Chitwood, Zachary. 2017. *Byzantine Legal Culture and Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press).
'Church Missionary Society Archive: Section IX: Middle East Missions'. n.d. Adam Matthew Publications. http://www.ampltd.co.uk/collections_az/CMS-9-01/description.aspx.
Ciccolella, Federica. 2006. 'Swarms of the Wise Bee: Literati and Their Audience in Sixth-Century Gaza', in Eugenio Amato, Alexandre Roduit and Martin Steinrück (eds), *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: hommages à Jacques Schamp* (Brussels: b. Latomus): 80–95.
Ciccolella, Federica. 2007. 'Phaedra's Shining Roses: Reading Euripides in Sixth-Century Gaza', *Scripta Classical Israelica* (26): 181–204.
Ciccolella, Federica. 2008. *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill).
Clark, Gillian. 2011. *Late Antiquity: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press).
Clarke, M. L. [1971] 2012. *Higher Education in the Ancient World*. Vol. 92 (London: Routledge).
'Climate Change: Compulsory Lessons on Climate Change and Sustainability for Italian Schools'. 2019. *BBC* 7 November. https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/50318843.
Cobb, Paul. M. 2005. *Usama ibn Munqidh: Warrior-Poet in the Age of Crusades* (Oxford: Oneworld).
Cole, Joan. 2020. 'On How Christians and Jews are "Muslims": The Real Meaning of "Islam" in the Qurʾan', 21 January. https://www.juancole.com/2020/01/christians-muslims-meaning.html?fbclid=IwAR103Hkv0WYdLyLeKHzUDsRbsuZcJ2ZFYiz4Izx5gxsw9SolbX-dDVIhy6s.
Cole, Juan R. I. 1999. *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egyptʾs ʿUrabi Movement* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press).
Collinet, Paul. 1925. *Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth* (Paris: Société Anonyme du Recueil Sirey).
Colt, Harris Dunscombe. 1962. *Excavations at Nessana*. Vol. 1 (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem).
Conermann, Stephan (ed.). 2014. *History and Society During the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)* (Bonn: V&R Unipress).
Contadini, Anna. 2012. *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals* (Leiden: Brill).

Cope, Bill and Mary Kalantzis. 2009. '"Multiliteracies": New Literacies, New Learning', *Pedagogies: An International Journal* 4 (3): 164–95.
CopticChurch.net. n.d. 'An Introduction to the School of Alexandria'. http://www.copticchurch.net/topics/patrology/schoolofalex/I-Intro/chapter1.html.
Cormack, Robin. 1985. *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London: George Philip).
Cotton, Hannah M., Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price and David J. Wasserstein. 2009. *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Cragg, Kenneth. 1991. *The Arab Christian: A History of the Middle East* (London: Mowbray).
Cribiore, Raffaella. 2007. 'Higher Education in Early Byzantine Egypt: Rhetoric, Latin and the Law', in Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 47–66.
Crone, Patricia with Adam Silverstein. 2016. 'The Ancient Near East and Islam: The Case of Lot-Casting', in Hanna Siurua (ed.), *Islam, the Ancient Near East and Varieties of Godlessness*. Vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill): 17–43.
Cross, Andrew. 2009. 'The Development of the Greek Alphabet within the Chronology of the ANE', 29 November. http://arcalog.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Near-Eastern-Chronology-and-the-development-of-the-Greek-Alphabet.pdf.
Cross, Frank Moore. 1980. 'Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (238) (Spring): 1–20.
Crystal, Jill. 2016. *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State* (London: Routledge).
Custodia Terrae Sanctae. n.d. 'The Terra Santa Schools'. https://www.custodia.org/en/althqaft-waltnshyt.
Cyril of Scythopolis. 1991. *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications).
Daftary, Farhad. 2001. *Mediaeval Ismaʾili History and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia. 1977. 'Egypt and the Egyptians: A Focal Point in the Policies and Literature of Al-Qaḍi Al-Faḍil', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 36 (1) (January): 25–38.
Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia. 1993. *Al-Qadi al-Fadil ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Bisani and ʿAsqalani wa-Dawruhu al-Takhtiti fi Dawlat Salah al-Din wa-Futuhatihi* [Al-Qadi al-Fadil and his Role in the State and Conquests of Salah al-Din] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Dallal, Ahmad S. and Jocelyn Hendrickson. 2009. 'Fatwa: Modern Usage', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 13–17.
Dalrymple, William. 2004. *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium* (New York: Penguin).
Darke, Diana. 2020. *Stealing from the Saracens: How Islamic Architecture Shaped Europe* (London: C. Hurst).
Da Rold, Orietta. 2020. *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Davila, Carl. 2009. 'Fixing a Misbegotten Biography: Ziryab in the Mediterranean World', *Al-Masaq* 21 (2) (August): 121–36.
Davis, Rochelle. 2003. 'Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918–1948', *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East* 23 (1&2) (January): 190–204.

DeBoer, T. J. 1904. *History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones (Kessinger Publishing). https://sacred-texts.com/isl/hpi/hpi12.htm.
Degani, Arnon. 2014. 'They Were Prepared: The Palestinian Arab Scout Movement, 1920–1948', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 41 (2) (May): 200–18.
Demichelis, Marco. 2015. 'From Nahda to Nakba: The Governmental Arab College of Jerusalem and its Palestinian Historical Heritage in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Arab Studies Quarterly* 37 (3) (Summer): 264–81.
Der Matossian, Bedross. 2011. 'Administering the Non-Muslims and "The Question of Jerusalem" after the Young Turk Revolution', in Yuval Ben Bassat and Eyal Ginio (eds), *Late Ottoman Palestine: The Period of Young Turk Rule* (London: I.B. Tauris): 211–39.
Diehl, Edith. 1980. *Bookbinding: Its Background and Technique* (New York: Dover Publications).
Dolabani, Yuhanna. 2009. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's Monastery* (London: Gorgias Press and Dar Mardin).
Donaldson, Terence L. (ed.). 2000. *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).
Donner, Fred M. 1981. *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Downey, Glanville. 1958. *The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Drijvers, Jan Willem. 2004. *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden: Brill).
Drory, Joseph. 2004. 'Founding a New Mamlaka: Some Remarks Concerning Safed and the Organization of the Region in the Mamluk Period', in Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (eds), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* (Leiden: Brill): 163–90.
Druart, Thérèse-Anne. 2020. 'al-Farabi', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/al-farabi/.
Dumper, Michael. 1994. *Islam and Israel: Muslim Religious Endowments and the Jewish State* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Dumper, Michael. 2002. *The Politics of Sacred Space: The Old City of Jerusalem in the Middle East Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner).
Eddy, Matthew Daniel. 2013. 'The Shape of Knowledge: Children and the Visual Culture of Literacy and Numeracy', *Science in Context* 26 (2): 215–45.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1998a. 'Scribes and Pharisees', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 20 July. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jesus/The-debate-over-Christology-in-modern-Christian-thought.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1998b. 'Theōdūrus Abū Qurrah', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 20 July. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Theodurus-Abu-Qurrah.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1999. 'The Byzantine Empire', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 26 July. https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/The-Byzantine-Empire.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2012. 'Sinaitic Inscriptions: Ancient Writing', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 24 August. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Sinaitic-inscriptions.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2020a. 'Muʾtazilah', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 26 June. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mutazilah.
Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2020b. 'Sanhedrin', *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14 May. https://www.britannica.com/topic/sanhedrin.
Ehrman, Bart D. 2005. *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Elad, Amikam. 1995. *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill).
Elkins, James. 2010. 'The Concept of Visual Literacy, and Its Limitations', in James Elkins (ed.), *Visual Literacy* (London: Routledge).
Ellenblum, Ronnie. 2003. 'Settlement and Society Formation in Crusader Palestine', in Thomas E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society the Holy Land* (London: Continuum): 502–11.
El Sakakini, Widad. 1986. *Sabiqat al-ʿAsr: Waʾiyan, wa-Saʾiyan wa-Fannan* (Damascus: Jamʾiyyat al-Nadwa al-Thaqafiyya al-Nisaiyya).
Emek Shaveh. 2016. 'A Tourist Site Dedicated to the Jewish People's Longing for Jerusalem Was Launched in the Old City's Muslim Quarter in a 14th Century Structure from the Mamluk Period', August 3. https://alt-arch.org/en/press-release-journey-to-jerusalem-aug-2016/.
Emmett, Chad F. 1995. *Beyond the Basilica: Christians and Muslims in Nazareth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Ephrat, Daphna. 2006. 'Sufism and Sanctity: The Genesis of the Wali Allah in Mamluk Jerusalem and Hebron', in David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (eds), *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter* (London: Routledge): 4–18.
Epstein, M. (ed.). 1945. *The Statesman's Year Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1945* (London: Macmillan).
Eshel, Esther and Douglas R. Edwards. 2004. 'Language and Writing in Early Roman Galilee: Social Location of a Potter's Abecedary from Khirbet Qana', in Douglas R. Edwards (ed.), *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine* (London: Routledge): 49–55.
Esposito, John L. (ed.). 2004. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Eusebius. 1971. *Onomasticon* (*On the Place Names in Holy Scripture*) (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press).
Eusebius Pamphilus. 2011. *The Ecclesiastical History of Pamphilus Eusebius* (Boulder, CO: Merchant Books).
Evans, James Allan. 2005. *The Emperor Justinian and the Byzantine Empire* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
Fabri, Felix. 1893. *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri (*circa 1480–1483 AD) (London: The Library Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society).
Falcetta, Alessandro. 2019. *The Daily Discoveries of a Bible Scholar and Manuscript Hunter: A Biography of James Rendel Harris (1852–1941)* (London: Bloomsbury)
Faris, Nabih Amin. 1985. 'Arab Culture in the Twelfth Century', in Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (eds), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5: *The Impact of the Crusades on The Near East* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press): 3–32.
Farmer, Henry George. 1925. *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (London: Reeves).
Farmer, Henry George. 1929. *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (London: Luzac).
Farmer, H. G. and E. Neubauer. 2012. 'Ziryab', in P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8172.
Farsoun, Samih K. 2004. *Culture and Customs of the Palestinians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
Feldman, Louis H. 1996. *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill).
Fetellus (Rorgo Fretellus). 1892. Vol. 19 (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society; first published *c*. 1137/1138).
Filiu, Jean-Pierre. 2014. *Gaza: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Finkel, Irving and Jonathan Taylor. 2015. *Cuneiform* (London: British Museum).

Finney, Paul Corby. 2017. *The Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology*. Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing).
Fischbach, Michael R. 2005a. 'Ahmad Samih Khalidi', in Philip Mattar (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (New York: Facts on File): 279.
Fischbach, Michael R. 2005b. 'Dusturiyya School', in Philip Mattar (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (New York: Facts on File): 119.
Fischer, Michael M. J. 2003. *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
Fitzgeralad, Timothy J. 2016. 'Reaching the Flocks: Literacy and the Mass Reception of Ottoman Law in the Sixteenth-Century Arab World', in Kent F. Schull, M. Safa Saracolu and Robert F. Zens (eds), *Law and Legality in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press): 9–25.
Fleischmann, Ellen. 1998. 'Young Women in the City: Mandate Memories', *Jerusalem Quarterly*. https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/2_Young_Women_1.pdf.
Fleischmann, Ellen. 2003. *The Nation and its 'New' Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Flood, F. B. 1997. 'Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus', in Gülru Necipoglu (ed.), *Muqarnas XIV: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill): 57–79.
Folda, Jaroslav. 1995. *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Folda, Jaroslav. 2001. 'Art in the Latin East, 1098–1291', in Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 141–59.
Folda, Jaroslav. 2005. *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre 1189–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Fortna, Benjamin. 2002. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, Education and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Fortescue, A. 1909. 'Eutychius', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company). New Advent. https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05639a.htm.
Foster, Zachary J. 2016. 'Who Was the First Palestinian in Modern History?' *Palestine Square*, 18 February. http://www.academia.edu/22303943/Who_Was_the_First_Palestinian_in_Modern_History_Palestine_Square_.
Foster, Zachary J. 2018. 'Why Are Modern Famines So Deadly? The First World War in Syria and Palestine', in Richard P. Tucker, Tait Keller, J. R. McNeill and Martin Schmid (eds), *Environmental Histories of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 191–207.
Foster, Zachary. 2020. 'An 18th Century Palestinian Manuscript Stolen by Israel', YouTube 25 April. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zhddF-7kk0&fbclid=IwAR05OTVR5cSWf1cloXLBXfcn8cq3RG7Y9OKA7bFnUpTGGwTuQ5U_Wnap22E.
Foucault, Michel. 2002. *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge).
Frank, Daniel. 2006. 'Education, Jewish', in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1 (New York: Routledge): 223.
Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: The Seabury Press).
Freire, Paulo. 1973. *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum)
Freire, Paulo. 1985. *The Politics of Education* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey).
Freire, Paulo. 1994. *Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Continuum).
Freire, Paulo. 1998. *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield).
Freire, P. and A. Faundez. 1989. *Learning to Question. A Pedagogy of Liberation* (Geneva: World Council of Churches).

Frenkel, Yehoshua. 1992. 'The Establishment of the Endowment (Waqf) of al-Madrasa al-Salihiyya in Jerusalem by Salah al-Din the Ayyubid', in Joseph Drory (ed.), *Palestine in the Mamluk Period* (Jerusalem): 64–85 [in Hebrew].
Friedrich, Norbert, Uwe Kaminsky and Roland Löffle (eds). 2010. *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag).
Fritsch, Charles T. 1972. *The Qumran Community: Its History and Scrolls* (New York: Biblo and Tannen).
Fromherz, Allen James. 2011. *Ibn Khaldun*: *Life and Times* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
Frösén, Jaakko, Antti Arjava and Marjo Lehtinen (eds). 2002. *The Petra Papyri*. Vol. 1 (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research).
Furas, Yoni. 2019. 'Old Arabs, New Arabs: Debating Palestinian Pedagogy during the Mandate', *Middle Eastern Studies* (September): 257–73.
Furas, Yoni. 2020. *Educating Palestine: Teaching and Learning History under the Mandate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Gabrieli, Francesco. 1984. *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
Galli, Christof. 2001. 'Middle Eastern Libraries', in David H. Stam (ed.), *International Dictionary of Library Histories*. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge): 111–15.
Galor, Katharina and Hanswulf Bloedhorn. 2013. *The Archaeology of Jerusalem: From its Origins to the Ottomans* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
Gerber, Haim. 1982. 'Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Palestine: The Role of Foreign Trade', *Middle Eastern Studies* 18 (3) (July): 250–64.
Gerber, Haim. 1998a. '"Palestine" and Other Territorial Concepts in the 17th Century', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30: 563–72.
Gerber, Haim. 1998b. 'Rigidity versus Openness in Late Classical Islamic Law: The Case of the Seventeenth-Century Palestinian Mufti Khayr al-Din al-Ramli', *Islamic Law and Society* 5 (2): 165–95.
Gerber, Haim. 2008. *Remembering and Imagining Palestine: Identity and Nationalism from the Crusades to the Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
Gerson, Lloyd P. 2005. 'Antiochus of Ascalon', in Ted Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 9–55.
Gertz, Sebastian, John Dillon and Donald Russell (trans.). 2014. *Aeneas of Gaza: Theophrastus with Zacharias of Mytilene* (London: Bloomsbury).
Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2009. *Autochthonous Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tiberias* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag).
Ghanayim, Zuhayr. 1999. *Akka fi ʿAhd al-Tanzimat al-ʿUthmaniyya*, *1864–1918* [Acre during the Ottoman Reforms Period, 1864–1918] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Ghawanma, Yusuf Darwish. 1982. *Tarikh Niyabat Beit al-Maqdis fi al-ʿAsr al-Mamluki* [The History of the Jerusalem Viceroy during the Mamluk Age] (Amman: Dar al-Hayat).
Gibbon, Edward. 1838. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Vol. 1 (London: John Murray).
Gibbon, Edward. 1840. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Vol. 5 (Paris: Baudry's European Library).
Gil, Moshe. 1996. 'The Political History of Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period', in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben Shammai (eds.) *The History of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; New York: New York University Press): 1–37.

Gil, Moshe. 1997. *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Gill, John. 2008. *Andalusia: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Gilmour, David. 1982. *Dispossessed. The Ordeal of the Palestinians* (London: Sphere Books).
Glock, Albert. 1994. 'Archaeology as Cultural Survival, The Future of the Palestinian Past', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23 (3): 70–84.
Goddard, Wayne and Stuart Melville. 2001. *Research Methodology: An Introduction* (Lansdowne: Juta).
Goitein, S. D. [1955] 1974. *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books).
Gonis, N. 2005. 'Papyri from Petra', *The Classical Review* 55 (2) (October): 655–7.
Goodwin, Tony. 2004. 'The Arab-Byzantine Coinage of Jund Filastin: A Potential Historical Source', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28 (1): 1–12.
Goody, Jack. 1993. *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Goody, Jack. 2004. *Islam in Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press).
Goody, Jack. 2006. *The Theft of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Goody, Jack. 2012. 'The Arabs and the Italian Renaissance', in Nayef R. F. Al-Rodhan (ed.), *The Role of the Arab-Islamic World in the Rise of the West: Implications for Contemporary Trans-Cultural Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 25–37.
Gow, James. 2010. *A Short History of Mathematics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Grabbe, Lester L. 2008. *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, Vol. 2: *Coming of the Greeks: The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)* (London: T & T Clark).
The Great Book Robbery. 2012. [Video] film-maker Benny Brunner, *Aljazeera* 24 May. https://www.aljazeera.com/program/episode/2012/5/24/the-great-book-robbery.
Green, Arnold H. 1988. 'The History of Libraries in the Arab World: A Diffusionist Model', *Libraries and Culture* 23 (4) (Fall): 454–73.
Greenberg, Ela. 2008. '*Majallat Rawdat al-ma`arif*: Constructing Identities within a Boys' School Journal in Mandatory Palestine', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 35 (1) (April): 79–95.
Greenberg, Ela. 2010. *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Grehan, James. 2014. *Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Grey, Vivienne. 2007. 'Structure and Significance (5.55-69)', in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds), *Reading Herodotus: A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus' Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 202–25.
Griffel, Frank. 2009. *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Griffel, Frank. 2020. 'al-Ghazali', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2020 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/al-ghazali/.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1979. 'Some Unpublished Arabic Sayings Attributed to Theodore Abu Qurrah', *Le Muséon* 92: 29–35.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1985. 'Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1): 53–73.

Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1986. 'Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century; the Example of the Summa Theologiae Arabica', *Byzantion* 56: 117–38.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1988. 'The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic', *The Muslim World* 78: 2–28.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1989. 'Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine', *Church History* 58 (1)(March): 7–19.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1992. *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 1994. 'Faith and Reason in Christian Kalam: Theodore Abu Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion', in Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (eds), *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)* (Brill: Leiden): 1–33.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2001a. 'The Life of Theodore of Edessa: History, Hagiography, and Religious Apologetics in Mar Saba Monastery in Early Abbasid Times', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven: Peeters): 147–69.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2001b. '"Melkites", "Jacobites", and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria', in David Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill): 9–55.
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2008. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2010. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2012. *Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*: *Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2013. *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Griffith, Sidney Harrison. 2018. 'Christianity's Historic Roots in the Middle East: Christians at Home in the World of Islam', in Kail C. Ellis (ed.), *Secular Nationalism and Citizenship in Muslim Countries: Arab Christians in the Levant* (Villanova, PA: Palgrave Macmillan): 29–60.
Grohmann, Adolf. 1963. *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el-Mird* (Jerusalem: Palestine Archeological Museum; Leuven: Université de Louvain).
Habibi, Imil (Emile). 2006. *Saraya, the Ogre's Daughter: A Palestinian Fairy Tale* (Jerusalem: Ibis Edition).
Haddad, Gibril Fouad. 2007. *The Four Imams and Their Schools* (Cambridge: Muslim Academic Trust).
Hadjittofi, Fotini. 2019. 'Town and Gown in the Orations of Choricius of Gaza', in Jan R. Stenger (ed.), *Learning Cities in Late Antiquity: The Local Dimension of Education* (London: Routledge): 145–63.
Halevi, Ilan. 1987. *A History of the Jews* (London: Zed Books).
Hall, Bruce. 1989. 'From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabba', in Alan David Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr): 32–54.
Hallaq, Hassan. 1986. *Al-ʿAlaqat al-Hadariyya bayn al-Asharq wal-Ghar Fil-ʾUsur al-Wusta: Al Andalus, Siqilya, al-Sham* [Civilisational Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages: Andalusia, Sicily, the Levant] (Beirut: Al-Dar al-Jamiʾyya).
Hamarneh, Salih (ed.). 1996. *Jerusalem's Heritage: Essays in Memory of Kamil Jamil Asali* (Amman: Maṭbaʾat al-Jamiʾah al-Urduniyah).
Hamilton, F. J. and E. W. Brooks (eds). 1899. *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London: Methuen & Co.).

Hawari, Mahmoud. 2007. *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): An Architectural and Archaeological Study* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports).
Hawari, Mahmoud, et al. (eds). 2010. *Pilgrimage, Sciences and Sufism: Islamic Art in the West Bank and Gaza* (Ramallah: Ministry of Culture and Museum with No Frontiers).
Heath, T. L. 2013. *A History of Greek Mathematics*. Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Hefner, Robert W. (ed.). 2009. *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press).
Heilen, Stephan. 2009. 'Ptolemy Doctrine of the Terms and its Reception', in Alexander Jones (ed.) *Ptolemy in Perspective: Use and Criticism of his Works from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century* (Heidelberg: Springer): 45–94.
Heilo, Olof. 2016. *Eastern Rome and the Rise of Islam: History and Prophecy* (London: Routledge).
Heng, Gerladine. 2015. 'Reinventing Race, Colonization, and Globalisms across Deep Time: Lessons from the *Longue Durée*', *PMLA* 130 (2) (March): 358–66.
Herbermann, Charles (ed.). 1910. *Catholic Encyclopaedia* 7 (New York: Robert Appleton).
Hess, Richard S. and Denys Pringle. 2018. 'Sacred Spaces and Holy Places', in Robert G. Hoyland and G. M. Williamson (eds), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Holy Land* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 317–51.
Hezser, Catherine. 2001. *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
Hidary, Richard. 2017. *Rabbis and Classical Rhetoric: Sophistic Education and Oratory in the Talmud and Mishna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Hijih, Shawkat Ramadan and Othman Ismael Al-tel. 2015. 'Al-Madrasa al-Tankiziyya fi al-Quds: Namuthaj li-Idarat al-Madaris wa-Awqafiha fi-l-ʿAsr al-Mamluki, 1329 AD/730 AH' [Al-Tankiziyya School in Jerusalem as a Model for the Administration of Schools and their Endowments in the Mamluk Period (730 AH/1329 AD)] *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 56 (1): 77–106.
Hilden, Joy Totah. 2016. *Passion for Learning: The Life Journey of Khalil Totah, a Palestinian Quaker Educator and Activist* (Wiltshire, UK: Ex Libris Press).
Hill, Donald. 1984. *A History of Engineering in Classical and Medieval Times* (London: Routledge).
Hillar, Marian. n.d. 'Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.E.–40 C.E.)', Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. https://www.iep.utm.edu/philo/.
Hillenbrand, Carole. 1999. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
Hillenbrand, R. and R. Auld (eds). 2009. *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187–1250* (London: Al Tajir-World of Islam).
Hitti, Philip K. 1956. *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan Press and St. Martin's Press).
Hiyari, Mustafa A. 1989. 'Crusader Jerusalem, 1099–1187 AD', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History* (Buckhurst Hill, UK: Scorpion): 130–76.
Hobsbawm, Eric. 1959. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: W. W. Norton).
Hobsbawm, Eric. 1969. *Bandits* (London: Penguin).
Holum, Kenneth G. 1986. 'Flavius Stephanus, Proconsul of Byzantine Palestine', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH): 231–9.
Holum, Kenneth G. 1996. 'The Survival of the Bouleutic Class at Caesarea in Late Antiquity', in A. Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden: Brill): 615–27.
Hopwood, Derek. 1969. *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine, 1843–1914: Church and Politics in the Near East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Hourani, Albert. 2013. *A History of the Arab Peoples* (London: Faber and Faber).
Hovsepian, Nubar. 2008. *Palestinian State Formation: Education and the Construction of National Identity* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars).
Howard-Johnson, James. 2000. 'The Education and Expertise of Procopius', *Antiquité Tardive* 8: 19–30.
Hoyland, Robert G. 1997. *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press).
Hoyland, Robert G. 2015. 'The Earliest Attestation of the Dhimma of God and His Messenger and the Rediscovery of the P. Nessana', in Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, Robert G. Hoyland and Adam Silverstein (eds), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts* (Leiden: Brill): 51–71.
Huffaker, Shaua. 2009. 'Kuttab', in Juan E. Campo (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam* (New York: Facts on File): 437–8.
Humphreys, R. Stephen. 1994. 'Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus', *Muqarnas* 11: 35–54.
Hunt, Janin. 2002. *Four Paths to Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Secular Pilgrimages, 1000 BCE to 2001* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland).
Hunt, Lucy-Anne. 1994. 'An Exhibition of Manuscripts from the A. Mingana Collection, Birmingham', in Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (eds), *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258*) (Leiden: Brill): 238–44.
Ibn Abi ʿUsaybah. 1965. *ʿUyun al-Anbaa fi-Tabaqat al-Atibbaa* [The Eyes of the News in the Classes of Physicians] (Beirut: Dar Maktabat al-Hayat).
Ibn al-Ha'im, Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Fardi. *c*. 1356–1412. *Nuzhat al-Arbat*. Library of Congress. https://www.wdl.org/ar/item/4327/.
Ibn Al-Hā'Im, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad. 1412. *Aal-Nuzhat al-ḥisāb li-Ibn al-Ha'īm*. [6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 11 March 1772]. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2010471128/.
Ibn al-Ukhuwah, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qurashi. 1976. *Kitab Maʾalim al-Qurba fi Ahkam al-Hisba* [Guide for the Enforcement of the Rules of Accounting] (Cairo: Al-Haiʾa al-Misriyya).
Ibn Battuta. 1975. *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa* (London: Rex Collins).
Ibn Khaldun. 1952. *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.d. (803 A. H.) A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun's 'Autobiography'* (Berkeley: University California Press).
Ibn Miskawayh. 1968. *The Refinement of Character*, translated by Constantin Zurayk (Beirut: American University of Beirut).
Ibn Miskawayh (ed.). 1905. *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* [Cultivation of Morals]. (Cairo: Abbas Pasha I's Mother Press). https://www.lisanarb.com/2019/09/pdf_11.html.
Ibn Qudamah. 2007. *Lamʾat al-Iʾtiqad*, *The Four Imams and Their Schools* (London: Muslim Academic Trust).
Ibn Salah. 1990. *Muqaddimat Ibn Ṣalaḥ Wa-Maḥasin al-Iṣṭilaḥ* (Cairo: Dar al-Maʾarif al-Qahiriyya).
Ibn Shaddad, Beha ed-Din. [1228] 1897. *The Life of Saladin* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund).
Ibn Shaddad, Beha ed-Din. 2002. *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya waʾl-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* (London: Routledge).
Ibn Tufayl. 1972. *Ibn Tufayl's Hayy ibn Yaqzan: A Philosophical Tale* (New York: Twayne Publishers).
Idlibi, Bishop Nawfitus. 1984. *Suleiman al-Ghazzi: Shaʾir wa-Katib Masihi Malaki Min al-Qarnayn al-ʿAshr wal-Hadi ʿAshar Lil-Milad*. Vol. 1 (Jounieh, Lebanon: Al-Maktaba al-Bulisyya) [in Arabic].

Imangulieva, Aida. 2009. *Gibran, Rihani and Naimy: East-West Interactions in Early Twentieth-Century Arab Literature* (Oxford: Inner Farne Press).
Innis, Harold A. 1995. *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press).
Irfan, Anne E. 2019. 'Educating Palestinian Refugees: The Origins of UNRWA's Unique Schooling System', *Journal of Refugee Studies* (10 July). https://academic.oup.com/jrs/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/jrs/fez051/5530722?redirectedFrom=fulltext.
Irfan, Anne. 2020. 'Palestine at the UN: The PLO and UNRWA in the 1970s', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 49 (2): 26–47.
Islahi, Abdul Azim. 2008. 'Works of Economic Interest in the Seventeenth Century Muslim World', *Thoughts on Economics* 18 (2) (April): 35–50.
IslamKotob. n.d. *Mujamaʾa al-Lugha al-ʾArabiyya* [Academy of the Arabic Language in Thirty Years]. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9pJLCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT71&lpg=PT71&dq=%E2%80%A2+%D9%88%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%87+%D9%82%D8%B3&source=bl&ots=mrkPxf37KA&sig=ACfU3U1zH3ZLvS_LS3xga-Wi3zdt9yYbyg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwicyJaq2JDgAhVYUxUIHdwrAu4Q6AEwCHoECAcQAQ#v=onepage&q=%E2%80%A2%20%D9%88%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%87%20%D9%82%D8%B3&f=false.
Jabra, Jabra Ibrahim. 1979. 'The Palestinian Exile as Writer', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 8: 77–87.
Jabra, Jabra Ibrahim. 1995. *First Well: A Bethlehem Boyhood* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press).
Jacobs, Daniel. 1999. *Jerusalem: The Mini Rough Guide* (London: Rough Guides)
Jansen, Willy. 2006. 'Arab Women with a Mission. The Sisters of the Rosary', in Martin Tamcke and Michael Martin (eds), *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East* (Berlin: LIT-Verlag): 41–61.
Jarrar, Sabri. 1998. 'Suq al-Maʾirifa: An Ayyubid Hanbalite Shrine in al-Haram al-Sharif', in Gülru Necipoğlu (ed.), *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*. Vol. 15 (Leiden: Brill): 71–100.
Jerome. 1999. *The Fathers of the Church*: *On Illustrious Men*. Vol. 100 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of American Press).
Jerome. n.d. 'De Viris Illustribus (On Illustrious Men)', trans. Ernest Cushing Richardson from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 3. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892). Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm.
Jerusalem Visitor Guide. n.d. 'Al-Madrasa al-Rashidiyyah (Al-Rashidiyyah School)'. http://www.enjoyjerusalem.com/explore/where-to-go/al-madrasa-al-rashidiyyah-al-rashidiyya-school.
Jisc. n.d. 'Jerusalem Christians Correspondence: Archive Collection'. https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/0267ce1a-b478-3c9f-8711-8ed03064d6a9.
John of Damascus. 2003. *Three Treatises on the Divine Images* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press).
John of Damascus. 2015. *The Fountain of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: The Great Library Collection by R. P. Pryne).
Johnson, Lee A. 2000. 'A Literary Guide to Caesaria Maritima', in Terence L. Donaldson (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press): 35–56.
Jones, Jonathan. 2013. 'Destruction of Timbuktu Manuscripts is an Offence against the Whole of Africa', *The Guardian* 28 January. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/28/destruction-timbuktu-manuscripts-offence-africa.
Josephus, Flavius. 1981. *The Jewish War* (London: Penguin Books).

Josephus, Flavius. 2004. *Antiquities of the Jews* (Boston: Digireads.com Publishing).
Josephus, Flavius. 2006. *Jewish Antiquities* (London: Wordsworth Classics).
Josephus, Flavius. 2013. *Against Apion* (Leiden: Brill).
Julius, Africanus. 2012. *The Sacred Writings of Julius Africanus* (Altenmünster: Jazzybee Verlag Jürgen Beck).
Kadman, Moga. 2015. *Erased from Space and Consciousness: Israel and the Depopulated Palestinian Villages of 1948* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
Kafadar, Cemal. 1993. 'The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânic Era', in Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (eds), *Süleyman the Second [i.e. the First] and His Time* (Istanbul: The Isis Press): 37–48.
Kaldellis, Anthony. 2004. *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
Kalisman, Hilary Falb. 2015. 'Schooling the State: Educators in Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan', PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. https://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/etd/ucb/text/FalbKalisman_berkeley_0028E_15247.pdf.
Kana`an, Ruba. 1998. 'Jaffa and the Waqf of Muhammad Aga Abu Nabbut (1799–1831): A Study in Urban History of an East Mediterranean City', D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, Oxford.
Kaplan, Sam. 2006. *The Pedagogical State: Education and the Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press).
Kasmieh, Khairieh. 1992. 'Ruhi al-Khalidi, 1864–1913: A Symbol of the Cultural Movement in Palestine Towards the End of Ottoman Rule', in Thomas Philipp (ed.), *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner): 123–46.
Katz, Kimberly. 2009. 'The Diarist and Times', in Kimberly Katz (ed.), *A Young Palestinian's Diary, 1941–1945: The Life of Sami ʿAmr* (Austin: University of Texas Press): 3–34.
Kazhdan, Aleksandr Petrovich. 1991a. 'Antiochos Strategos', in Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 119–20.
Kazhdan, Aleksandr Petrovich. 1991b. 'Dorotheos of Gaza', in Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 654.
Kazhdan, Aleksandr Petrovich. 1991c. 'Yahya of Antioch', in Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 2213.
Kedar, Benjamin Z. 1983. 'Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East: A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37: 55–77.
Kennedy, George Alexander. 2008. *Greek Rhetoric Under Christian Emperors* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock).
Kennedy, Maev. 2015. 'Oldest Qurʾan Fragments Found at Birmingham University', *The Guardian* 22 July. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/22/oldest-quran-fragments-found-at-birmingham-university.
Khalidi, Ahmad Samih. 1928. *Idarat al-Sufouf* [Classroom Management] (Jerusalem: Al-Maktaba al-ʿAsriyya).
Khalidi, Ahmad Samih. 1933, 1935. *Anthimat al-Taʾalim* [*Educational Systems*] (Jerusalem: Al-Maktaba al-ʿAsriyya).
Khalidi, Ahmad Samih. 1934. *Arkan al-Taʾalim* [Pillars of Teaching] (Jerusalem: Matbaʾat Bayt al-Maqdis).
Khalidi, Asem. 2009. 'The Mamilla Cemetery: A Buried History. *Jerusalem Quarterly* 37 (Spring): 104–9.

Khalidi, Issam. 2006. 'Body and Ideology: Early Athletics in Palestine (1900–1948)', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 27 (summer): 44–58. https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/27_khalidi_1.pdf.
Khalidi, Muhammad Ali (ed.). 2005. *Medieval Islamic Philosophical Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Khalidi, Rashid. 1998. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press).
Khalidi, Rashid. 2010. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, with a new Introduction (New York: Columbia University Press).
Khalidi, Rashid. 2020. *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017* (New York: Metropolitan Books).
Khalidi, Walid. 1984. *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876–1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Khalidi, Walid. 1992. *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Khalifé, Elie. 1966. 'Notice sur un manuscrit du poète arabe chrétien, Sulaiman ibn Hasan al-Gazzi', *Parole de l'Orient, Revue semestrielle des études syriaques et arabes chrétiennes* 2 (1): 159–62.
Khan, Mohammad Sharif and Mohammad Anwar Saleem. 1994. *Muslim Philosophy and Philosophers* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House).
Kildani, Hanna. 2010. 'Part 1: The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jersulam; Chapter Three: The Palestinian Orthodox Imperial Society: 1917–1882', in *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land*. http://www.mansaf.org/orth_society.htm.
Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel S. Migdal. 2003. *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Kirby, Peter. 2021. 'Justin Martyr'. *Early Christian Writings*. http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/justinmartyr-dialoguetrypho.html.
Klein, Menachem. 2014. *Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Knysh, Alexander. 2016. *Islam in Historical Perspective* (London: Routledge).
Kohlberg, Etan and B. Z. Kedar. [1988] 1993. 'A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus: Muwaffaq al-Din Yaʾqub b. Siqlab', *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), reproduced in B. Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant 11th to 14th Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate): 113–26.
Konzett, Matthias. 2000. 'Walther von der Vogelweide', in Matthias Konzett (ed.), *Encyclopedia of German Literature* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn): 977.
Kopf, L. 1956. 'The Zoological Chapter of the Kitab al-Imtaʾ wal-Muʾanasa of Abu Hayyan al-Tauhidi (10th Century)', *Osiris* 12: 390–466.
Koskenniemi, Erkki. 2019. *Greek Writers and Philosophers in Philo and Josephus: A Study of Their Secular Education and Educational Ideals* (Leiden: Brill).
Koterski, Joseph. 'On the Aristotelian Heritage of John of Damascus', in Brendan Sweetman (ed.), *The Failure of Modernism: The Cartesian Legacy and Contemporary Pluralism* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999): 58–71. https://maritain.nd.edu/ama/Sweetman/Sweetman05.pdf.
Kovacs, Maureen Gallery (trans.). 1989. *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
Kraemer, Joel L. 1992. *Humanism and the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age* (Leiden: Brill).
Krämer, Gudrun. 2011. *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Kramer, Samuel Noah. [1956] 1981. *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Recorded History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
Kropf, Evyn. 2018. 'Recalling Alikurna: "Countermarked Paper around Scribes in the late 19th Century Ottoman Levant"', in Anne Regourd (ed.), *The Trade in Papers Marked with non-Latin Characters*. Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill): 38–80.
Kruk, Remke. 2008. 'Zarafa: Encounters with the Giraffe, from Paris to the Medieval Islamic World', in Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson (eds), *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on His 65th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill): 568–92.
Kupferschmidt, Uri M. 1984. 'Connections of the Palestinian ʿUlama with Egypt and Other Parts of the Ottoman Empire', in Amnon Cohen (ed.), *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association 868–1948* (New York: St. Martin's Press): 176–89.
Kupferschmidt, Uri M. 1986. 'A Note on the Muslim Religious Hierarchy towards the End of the Ottoman Period', in David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Leiden: Brill): 110–23.
Kupferschmidt, Uri M. 1987. *The Supreme Muslim Council: Islam Under the British Mandate for Palestine* (Leiden: Brill).
Lamoreaux, J. C. 2009. 'Theodore Abu Qurra', in D. R. Thomas and B. H. Roggema (eds), *Bibliographical History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. Vol. 1 (600–900) (Leiden: Brill): 439–91.
Lapin, Hayim. 2001. *Economy, Geography, and Provincial History in Later Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
Leaman, Oliver. 1990. *Moses Maimonides* (London: Routledge).
Leeming, Kate. 1997. 'Byzantine Hagiographies in Arabic: Three Translations from a Ninth-Century Manuscript Copied at the Monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine (Vaticanus Arabicus 71)', PhD dissertation, University of Oxford.
Leibowitz, Yeshayahu. 1987. *The Faith of Maimonides* (New York: Adama Books).
Leiser, Gary. 2006. 'Madrasa', in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilisation: An Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge): 457–8.
Lentin, Ronit. 2018. *Traces of Racial Exception: Racializing Israeli Settler Colonialism* (London: Bloomsbury).
Leontius [early 9th century] 1999. *The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas* (Louvain: Peeters).
The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. 2021. 'Languages and Scripts'. https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/learn-about-the-scrolls/languages-and-scripts.
Le Strange, Guy. 2014. *Collected Works of Guy Le Strange: Medieval Islamic World*. Vol. 1 (London: I.B. Tauris).
Lev, Yaacov. 2006. 'Palestine', in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilisation: An Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2 (London: Routledge): 590–2.
Lev, Yaacov. 2009. 'Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans', *Mamluk Studies Review* 13 (1): 1–26.
Lewis, Bernard. 1973. *Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East* (London: Alcove Press).
Liberty Writers Africa. 2021. '700,000 Ancient African Books Have Survived in Timbuktu University in Mali', 17 January. https://libertywritersafrica.com/posts?read=700000-Ancient-African-Books-Have-Survived-In-Timbuktu-University-In-Mali.
Lillington-Martin, Christopher and Elodie Turquois. 2017. 'Introduction', in Christopher Lillington-Martin and Elodie Turquois (eds), *Procopius of Caesarea: Literary and Historical Interpretations* (London: Routledge): 1–10.

Linder, Amon. 1996. 'Christian Communities in Jerusalem', in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (eds), *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period (638–1099)* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; New York: New York University Press): 121–62.
Little, Donald P. 1989. 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, 1187–1516 AD', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History* (Buckhurst Hill, Essex: Scorpion): 177–99.
Little, Donald P. 1995. 'Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi's Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (2) (April–June): 237–47.
Looted & Hidden: *Palestinian Archives in Israel.* 2018. [Documentary]. Dir. Rona Sela. Vimeo 15 May. https://vimeo.com/213851191.
López-Farjeat, Luis Xavier. 2016. 'al-Farabi's Psychology and Epistemology', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 11 February. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/al-farabi-psych/.
Lorentz, John H. 2011. 'Educational Development in Iran: the Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College', *Iranian Studies* 44 (5): 647–55.
Louvre. n.d. 'Coupe ; coupe de Césarée de Palestine', last updated 10 October 2019. https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010258261
Louth, Andrew. 2003. 'Introduction', in *Three Treatises on the Divine Images: John of Damascus*, translation and introduction by Andrew Louth (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press).
Lowry, Joseph E. , Devin J. Stewart and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds). 2004. *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust).
Luke, Harry Charles and Keith Roach (eds). 1930. *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (London: Macmillan).
Lupton, J. H. 1882. *St. John of Damascus* (London: Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge).
Luz, Nimrod. 2014. *Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture and Urban Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Maalouf, Amin. 1984. *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (London: Saqi).
Madelung, Wilfred. 1988. *Religious Trends in Early Iran* (New York: State University of New York Press).
Madrasat al-Banat al-Islamiyyah (Al-Quds). 1930. *Barnamaj Sanat 1348–1349/1929–1930* [Programme of 1929–1930] (Jerusalem: Matbaʾat Dar al-Aytam).
Madrasat and Ribat al-Jawhariyya. n.d. 'History'. http://web.i2ud.org/jerusalem/priv/html3/monuments/sites/t152_madras_r/index.html.
Magness, Jodi. 2003. *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine*. Vol. 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).
Mahamid, Hatim. 2006. 'Waqf, Education and Politics in Mamluk Jerusalem', *Islamic Quarterly* 50 (1): 33–58.
Mahamid, Hatim. 2007. 'The Construction of Islamic-Educational Institutions in Mamluk Gaza', *Nebula* 4 (4): 36–40.
Mahamid, Hatim. 2009a. *Dirasat fi Tarikh al-Quds al-Thaqafi fi al-ʿAsr al-Wasit* (Amman: Rabitat Udabaa al-Sham) [in Arabic]).
Mahamid, Hatim. 2009b. 'Mosques as Higher Educational Institutions in Mamluk Syria', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 20 (2) (May): 188–212.
Mahamid, Hatim. 2011. 'Curricula and Educational Process in Mamluk Madrasas', *Education Research Journal* 1 (7): 141–51.
Mahamid, Hatim. 2012. 'Study Days and Vacations in Madrasas of Medieval Syria', *Education Research Journals* 2 (7) (July): 231–8.

Mahmoud, Salim Muhammad. n.d. 'Al-Qadi al-Fadil', *Al-Mawsuʾaa al-ʿArabiyya*. http://arab-ency.com.sy/detail/7592.
Makdisi, George. 1981. *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
Makdisi, George. 1990. *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
Makdisi, George. 1999. 'Religion and Culture in Classical Islam and the Christian West', in Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (eds), *Religion and Culture in Classical Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 3–23.
Mannaʿ, ʾAdel. 1994. 'Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Rebellions in Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24 (1) (Autumn): 51–66.
Mansoor, Menahem. 1964. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A College Textbook and a Study Guide* (Leiden: Brill).
Maʿoz, Moshe and Sari Nusseibeh (eds). 2000. *Jerusalem: Points Beyond Friction and Beyond* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International).
Marʾi, Sami Khalil. 1978. *Arab Education in Israel* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press).
Marincola, John. 2003. 'Introduction and Notes', in Herodotus, *The Histories* (London: Penguin): ix–xxxviii.
Markel, Geraldine and Gary Madvin (eds). 2012. *Finding Happiness with Aristotle as Your Guide: Action Strategies Based on 10 Timeless Ideas* (Bloomington IN: iUniverse).
Marom, Roy. 2019. 'A Short History of Mulabbis (Petah Tikva, Israel)', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 151 (2): 134–45.
Masalha, Nur. 1992. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of 'Transfer' in Zionist Political Thought, 1882–1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies).
Masalha, Nur. 1997. *A Land Without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians* (London: Faber and Faber).
Masalha, Nur. 2007. *The Bible and Zionism*: *Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-colonialism in Palestine-Israel* (London: Zed Books).
Masalha, Nur. 2012. *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London: Zed Books).
Masalha, Nur. 2018. *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (London: Zed Books).
Mason, Herbert. 2003. *Gilgamesh: A Verse Narrative* (Boston: Mariner Books).
Matar, Dina. 2011. *What It Means to Be Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Boyhood* (London: I.B. Tauris).
Matthews, Edward G. 2013. 'Lavra', in William M. Johnston (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Vols 1 and 2 (London: Routledge): 746–7.
Maxton, Rosie. 2019. 'Sulayman al-Ghazzi and Christian Arabic Poetry', *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 12 (1): 91–9.
Mayer, Leo Ary. 1952. *Mamluk Costume: A Survey, With a Bibliography* (Geneva: A. Kundig).
Mayerson, Philip. 1985. 'The Wine and Vineyards of Gaza in the Byzantine Period', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 257 (Winter): 75–80.
Mayerson, Philip. 1992. 'The Gaza "Wine" Jar (Gazition) and the "Lost" Ashkelon Jar (Askalônion)', *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1–2): 76–80.
Mazawi, André Elias. 2011. '"Which Palestine Should We Teach?" Signatures, Palimpsests, and Struggles over School Textbooks', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 30 (February): 169–83.
Mazza, Roberto. 2015. 'Transforming the Holy City: From Communal Clashes to Urban Violence, the Nebi Musa Riots in 1920', in Ulrike Freitag, Nelida Fuccaro, Claudia

Ghrawi and Nora Lafi (eds), *Urban Violence in the Middle East: Changing Cityscapes in the Transition from Empire to Nation State* (Oxford: Berghahn Books): 179–95.
McCarthy, Rory. 2008. 'From Papyrus to Cyberspace', *The Guardian* 27 August 2008. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/27/israel.
Meho, Lokman I. and Mona A. Nsouli (eds). 1999. *Libraries and Information in the Arab World: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
Meijer, Wilna A. J. 2009. *Tradition and Future of Islamic Education* (Münster: Waxmann).
Meir Bar Ilan. 1995. 'Parchment', 4 December. https://web.archive.org/web/20050422080330/http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~barilm/parchmen.html.
Menicucci, Garay. 2001. 'Kulthum Auda: The Forgotten Palestinian Ethnographer', in Mary Ann Fay (ed.), *Auto-Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 139–51.
Menocal, Maria Rosa. 2002. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown).
Meri, Josef W. 2006, 'al-Harawi', in Josep W. Meri (ed.) *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge): 313.
Messick, Brinkley M. and Joseph A. Kéchichian. 2009. 'Fatwa. Process and Function', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Mid East (American Friends of the Middle East) 10 (1970). 43.
Mills, Kathy A. 2009. 'Multiliteracies: Interrogating Competing Discourses', *Language and Education* 23 (2): 103–16.
Mirbabaev, A. K. 2003. 'The Islamic Lands and Their Culture', in C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. 4, Part 2 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass): 31–43.
Moore-Gilbert, Bart. 2009. *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics, and Self-Representation* (London: Routledge).
Morris, Benny. 1994. *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
Morrison, Heidi. 2005. *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
Mulnix, J. W. 2010. 'Thinking Critically about Critical Thinking', *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 44 (5): 464–79.
Munir, Mahmoud. 2021. 'Muhammad Maraqten, the Quran and its Ancient Linguistic Roots', *Al-Arabi al-Jadid*, 25 April 2021 [Arabic]. https://www.alaraby.co.uk.
Murphy, Roland E. 1993. 'Psalms', in Michael D Coogan and Bruce Metzger Bruce (eds), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 626–9.
Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. 2008. *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (New York: Oxford University Press).
Musallam, Akram (ed.). 2003. *Yawmiyyat Khalil al-Sakakini: Yawmiyyat – Rasaʾil – Taʾammulat. al-Kitab al-Awwal* [Diaries of Khalil al-Sakakini: Diaries, Letters, Reflections. The First Book, New York, Sultana, Jerusalem, 1907–1912] (Ramallah: Markiz Khalil al-Sakakini al-Thaqafi).
Naimy, Nadeem N. 1985. *The Lebanese Prophets of New York* (Beirut: American University of Beirut).
Nakosteen, Mehdi K. and Joseph S. Szyliowicz. 1997. 'History of Education (Muslim)', *Encylopaedia Britannica* 18: 16–17.
Nanji, Azim A. 2009. 'Mufti', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 92–3.
Nasrallah, Elias. 2016. *Shahadat fil-Qarn al-Filastini al-Awwal* [Testimonies from the First Palestinian Century] (Beirut: Dar al-Farabi).

Natsheh, Yusuf. 2010a. 'Desert Monasticism', in Mahmoud Hawari, Yusuf Natsheh and Nazmi Al-Ju'beh (eds), *Pilgrimage, Sciences and Sufism: Islamic Art in the West Bank and Gaza* (Ramallah: Ministry of Culture and Museum with No Frontiers): 148–49.
Natsheh, Yusuf. 2010b. 'Jerusalem: the Centre for Religious Study and Knowledge', in Mahmoud Hawari, Yusuf Natsheh and Nazmi Al-Ju'beh (eds), *Pilgrimage, Sciences and Sufism: Islamic Art in the West Bank and Gaza* (Ramallah: Ministry of Culture and Museum with No Frontiers): 113–29.
Natsheh, Yusuf. 2016. 'Muslim Women Patrons in Jerusalem', in Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (eds), *Jerusalem: 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art): 242–70.
Nawas, John. 2002. 'The Emergence of Fiqh as a Distinct Discipline and the Ethnic Identity of the Fuqahaʾ in Early and Classical Islam', in Stefan Leder and H. Kilpatrick (eds), *Studies in Arabic and Islam* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers): 491–99.
Netton, Ian Richard. 1999. *Al-Farabi and His School* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press).
Netz, Reviel (ed.). 2004. *The Works of Archimedes*. Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Neuwirth, Angelika. 2012. 'The Late Antique Qurʾan', Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton University, 19 July. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHCeYSvazY4&fbclid=IwAR1P-sBBqxZI3SComUDFhZ_2bvyNObm0E71MI2g0nlU-LwIkHr3ahMOEzyw.
Nigro, Lorenzo. 2018. Da Gerico a Betlemme. La Missione della Sapienza a Gerico e l'Archeologia Italiana in Palestina (1997–2017) con il Contributo del Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale', *Vicino Oriente* 22: 1–13.
Noble, Samuel. 2014. 'Sulayman al-Ghazzi', in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press): 160–70.
Northrup, Linda S. 2001. 'Qalawun's Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth-Century Egypt', *Mamluk Studies Review* 5: 119–40. http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MSR_V_2001-Northrup.pdf.
Novikoff, Alex J. 2013. *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
Ochsenwald, William and Sydney Nettleton Fisher. 2004. *The Middle East: A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill).
O'Connor, J. J. and E. F. Robertson. n.d. 'Marinus of Neapolis', MacTutor, last updated April 1999. http://mathshistory.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Marinus.html.
ʿOdeh-Vasil'eva, Klavdia (Kulthum). 1928. *Anthology of Modern Arabic Literature*. 2 vols. (Leningrad [in Russian]).
Omran, Abdel-Rahim. 1980. *Population in the Arab World: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Croom Helm).
Online Exhibit. n.d. Zurayk's primary school's grades (year six) for 1921–22. http://online-exhibit.aub.edu.lb/files/original/f7e1c07d5ccb73dedcfc039b53daddce.jpg.
Origen. 1966. *On First Principles* (New York: Harper Torchbooks).
Orne, John. 1894. 'The Arabic Press of Beirut, Syria', in *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 51, edited by G. Frederick Wright and Z. Swift Holbrook (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich): 281–97.
Othman, Enaya Hammad. 2016. *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood: Encounter between Palestinian Women and American Missionaries, 1880s–1940s* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).
Our Lady of Balamand Patriarchal Monastery. n.d. 'About the Centre'. http://www.balamandmonastery.org.lb/index.php/manuscripts-center.
Pahlitzsch, Johannes. 2001. 'The Concern for Spiritual Salvation and Memoria in Islamic Public Endowments in Jerusalem (XII–XVI C.) as Compared to the Concepts of

Christendom', in Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (eds), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III* (Leuven: Peeters): 329–44.
Palestine Government. 1921. *Syllabus for State Elementary Schools for Boys in Towns and Villages* (Jerusalem: Department of Education).
Palestine Government. 1925. *Elementary School Syllabus* (Jerusalem: Department of Education).
Palestinian Journeys. n.d.-a. 'Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi'. https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/9833/ahmad-samih-al-khalidi.
Palestinian Journeys. n.d.-b. 'Kulthum Odeh'. https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/9739/kulthum-odeh.
Palestine Royal Commission. 1937. *Minutes of Evidence Heard at Public Sessions* (London: H.M. Stationery Office).
Pamphilius, Eusebius. n.d. 'On Bk. vi. Chap. 2 (Note 1, Continued). Origen's Life and Writings', Bible Hub. https://biblehub.com/library/pamphilius/church_history/on_bk_vi_chap_2.htm.
Parvis, Paul. 2008. 'Justin Martyr', *The Expository Times* 120 (53) (November): 53–61.
Pascual, Jean-Paul. 2003. *Pauvreté et richesse dans le monde musulman méditerranéen: Poverty and wealth in the Muslim Mediterranean World* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose).
Patai, Raphael. 1997. *Jadid al-Islam: Jewish New Muslims of Meshhed* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press).
Patrich, Joseph. 1995. *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks).
Patrich, Joseph. 2001a. *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea-Maritima* (Leiden: Brill).
Patrich, Joseph (ed.). 2001b. *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven: Peeters).
Peled, Alisa Rubin. 2012. *Debating Islam in the Jewish State: The Development of Policy Toward Islamic Institutions in Israel* (New York: State University of New York Press).
Penella, Robert J. (ed.). 2009. *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity: A Translation of Choricius of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Peters, Francis F. 1994. *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (New York: State University of New York Press).
Petersen, Andrew (ed.). 2001. *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine*, Vol. 1. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology (London: British Academy and Oxford University Press).
Petersen, Andrew. 2002a. *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* (London: Routledge).
Petersen, Andrew. 2002b. *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine*, Vol. 1 (London: British Academy Monographs in Archaeology).
Petersen, Andrew. 2005. *The Towns of Palestine under Muslim rule: AD 600–1600* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).
Petry, Carl F. 2002. 'Educational Institutions as Depicted in the Biographical Literature of Mamluk Cairo: The Debate over Prestige and Venue', *Medieval Prosopography* 23: 101–23.
Phili, Christine. 2002. 'Greece', in Joseph W. Dauben and Christoph J. Scriba (eds), *Writing the History of Mathematics: Its Historical Development* (Basel: Birkhäuser): 221–9.
Philipp, Thomas. 1992. *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner).
Philipp, Thomas. 2001. *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Pines, Shlomo. 1985. *Time* magazine, 23 December.
Plato. 1966. *Apology* 38a. Vol. 1, translated by Harold North Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Porath, Yehoshua. 1971, 'Al Hajj Amin al-Huseyni, Mufti of Jerusalem', *Asian and African Studies* 7: 125–8.
Prokopios (Procopius). 1940. *On Buildings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Prokopios (Procopius). 2005. *History of the Wars*, bks 1 and 2 (of 8) (Salt Lake City, UT: Project Gutenberg eBook; first published *c.* 560). http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16764/16764-h/16764-h.htm.
Prokopios (Procopius). 2007. *The Secret History* (London: Penguin Classics).
Prokopios (Procopius). 2014. *The Wars of Justinian* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing).
'Publisher's Note: Church Missionary Society Archive: Section IX: Middle East Missions'. n.d. Adam Matthew Publications. http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/cms_section_ix_part_1/publishers-note.aspx.
Pummer, Reinhard. 1989. 'Samaritan Material Remains and Archaeology', in Alan David Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr): 135–77.
Pummer, Reinhard. 2002. *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
Qleibo, Ali. 2015. 'Jerusalem's Palestinian Identity and Intangible Heritage', *This Week in Palestine* 29 September. http://www.thisweekinpalestine.com/jerusalems-palestinian-identity-and-intangible-heritage/?fbclid=IwAR0trwTg1eq8VHKA2QOc1LkI5ur7LYjav9mGyql-CaOD6FSthSw6_qHEcEQ.
Qleibo, Ali. 2019. *Mamluk Architectural Landmarks in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Taʾauon).
Rabkin, Yakov M. 2006. *A Threat from Within: A Century of Jewish Opposition to Zionism* (London: Zed Books).
Rabkin, Yakov M. 2010. 'Language in Nationalism: Modern Hebrew in the Zionist Project', *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 9 (2): 129–45.
Radez, John Peter. 2019. *Ibn Miskawayh, the Soul, and the Pursuit of Happiness: The Truly Happy Sage* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).
Ragab, Ahmed. 2015. *The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion, and Charity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Raheb, Mitri and Frederick M. Strick. 1998. *Bethlehem 2000: Past and Present* (Heidelberg: Palmyra Press).
Rajak, Tessa. 2002. *Josephus, The Historian and his Society* (London: Buckworth).
Rapoport, Yossef and Emilei Savage-Smith. 2018. *Lost Maps of the Caliphs: Drawing the World in Eeleveth-Century Cairo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Reid, Donald Malcolm. 2002. *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Reiter, Yitzhak. 1997. 'Qadis and the Implementation of Islamic Law in Present Day Israel', in Robert Gleave and Eugenia Kermeli (eds), *Islamic Law: Theory and Practice* (London: I.B. Tauris): 205–31.
Reiter, Yitzhak, Marlen Eordegian and M. Abu Khallaf. 2000. 'Between Divine and Human: The Complexity of the Holy Places in Jerusalem', in Maʿoz, Moshe and Sari Nusseibeh (eds), *Jerusalem: Points Beyond Friction and Beyond* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International): 99–164.
Reiter, Yitzhak, Marlen Eordegian and M. Abu Khallaf. 2010. 'The Waqf in Israel since 1965: The Case of Acre Reconsidered', in Marshall J. Breger, Yitzhak Reiter and Leonard Hammer (eds), *Holy Places in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: Conformation and Co-existence* (London: Routledge): 104–27.
Remiisen, Sofie. 2015. *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. 1939. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office).
Rosenfeld, Maya. 2018. 'When Saudi Arabia imported teachers from Palestine', *Haaretz* 22 November. https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/.premium.MAGAZINE-when-saudi-arabia-imported-teachers-from-palestine-1.6678760?fbclid=IwAR1ljQc1OST-faMz_1-xrUxlobwbFVr6ECbF0emyBB_OKm1FVA1-ICz75Mo.
Resto, Jan. 2013. *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London: Routledge).
Richards, D. S. 1994. 'Saladin's Hospital in Jerusalem: Its Foundations and Some Later Archival Material', in Khalil ʿAthamina and Roger Heacock (eds), *The Frankish Wars and their Influence on Palestine*, selected papers presented at Bir Zeit University's International Academic Conference (Birzeit: Birzeit University): 70–83.
Ricks, Thomas M. 2009a. 'Khalil Totah: The Unknown Years', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 34: 51–77. https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/34_Kalil_totah_0.pdf.
Ricks, Thomas M. (ed.). 2009b. *Turbulent Times in Palestine: The Diaries of Khalil Totah, 1886–1955* (Jerusalem: Institute for Palestine Studies; Ramallah: PASSIA).
Riddle, John M. 2008. *A History of the Middle Ages, 300–1500* (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers).
Riley-Smith, Jonathan. 1977. 'The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration', in P. M. Holt (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips): 9–22.
Riley-Smith, Jonathan. 1978. 'Latin Titular Bishops in Palestine and Syria, 1137–1291', *Catholic Historical Review* 64: 1–15.
Riley-Smith, Jonathan. 2005. *The Crusades: A History* (London: Continuum).
Robinson, Francis. 1996. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Rodionov, Mikhail. 2011. 'Profiles under Pressure: Orientalists in Petrograd/Leningrad,1918–1956', in Michael Kemper and Stephan Conermann (eds), *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies* (London: Routledge): 47–57.
Rokeah, David. 2002. *Justin Martyr and the Jews* (Leiden: Brill).
Rollston, Christopher. 2020. 'The Emergence of Alphabetic Scripts', in R. Hasselbach-Andee (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages* (New York: John Wiley): 65–81.
Romeny, Bas Ter Haar. 2007. 'Procopius of Gaza and His Library', in Hagit Amirav and R. B. Ter Haar Romeny (eds), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Leuven: Peeters): 173–90.
Roper, Geoffrey (ed.). 2017. *The History of the Book in the Middle East* (London: Routledge).
Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam. 1998. 'Between Cairo and Damascus: Rural Life and Urban Economics in the Holy Land during the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman Periods', in Thomas Evan Levy (ed.), *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London: Continuum): 512–23.
Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam. 2006. *Islamic Art and Archaeology of Palestine* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press).
Rosenthal, Erwin. 1961. *Judaism and Islam* (London: Thomas Yoseloff).
Rosenthal, Franz. 2007. *Knowledge Triumphant. The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill).

Ross, Elizabeth. 2014. *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).
Rousseau, J. J. [1754–62] 2010. *The Social Contract, A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, and A Discourse on Political Economy* (New York: Classic Books International).
Rustow, Marina. 2008. *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
Sabou, Sorin. 2018. *Happiness as Actuality in Nicomachean Ethics: An Overview* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications).
Şafak, Yeni. 2017. 'Records of #Jerusalem Deeds Found in #Ottoman Archives Cause #Israel Unease', *Truthaholics* 9 December. https://truthaholics.wordpress.com/2017/12/11/records-of-jerusalem-deeds-found-in-ottoman-archives-cause-israel-unease/.
Sahas, Daniel J. 1972. *John of Damascus on Islam: The 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'* (Leiden: Brill).
Said, Edward W. 1975. *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Basic Books).
Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul International).
Said, Edward W. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books).
Said, Edward W. 1999. *Out of Place: A Memoir* (London: Granta Books).
Said, Edward W. 2001a. 'Ibrahim Abu-Lughod: One of Palestine's Leading Academics and Intellectuals, He Campaigned for His People around the World', *The Guardian*, 12 June 2001. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/jun/12/guardianobituaries.internationaleducationnews.
Said, Edward W. 2001b. 'My Guru', *London Review of Books* 23 (2) (13 December). https://www.lrb.co.uk/v23/n24/edward-said/my-guru..
Salibi, Kamal. 1988. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London: Bloomsbury).
Samir, Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (eds). 1994. *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period, 750–1258* (Brill: Leiden).
SAMN! 2014. 'Sulayman al-Ghazzi on Racial Harmony in the Church', *Notes on Arab Orthodoxy* 1 May. http://araborthodoxy.blogspot.com/2014/05/sulayman-al-ghazzi-on-racial-harmony-in.html.
Sartre, Maurice. 2005. *The Middle East under Rome* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press).
Sato, Tsugitaka. 2014. *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill).
Sayigh, Rosemary. 2007. *The Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London: Zed Books).
Sayigh, Rosemary. 2017. 'Where Are the History Books for Palestinian Children?', *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 16 (2) (November): 145–75.
Schadler, Peter. 2017. *John of Damascus and Islam: Christian Heresiology and the Intellectual Background to Earliest Christian-Muslim Relations* (Leiden: Brill).
Schaff, Philip. 1877. *Evangelical Christendom*. Vol. 18 (London: William John Johnson).
Schayegh, Cyrus. 2017. *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
Schepens, G., Felix Jacoby and Jan Radicke (ed.). 1999. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued* (Leiden: Brill).
Schurer, Emil. 2014. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 2 (London: Bloomsbury).
Sedley, David (ed.). 2012. *The Philosophy of Antiochus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Segev, Tom. 1999. *One Palestine Complete* (New York: Metropolitan Books).

Segreteria di Stato Vaticano. 2013. *Annuario Pontificio 2013* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana).
Seikaly, May. 2002. *Haifa: The Transformation of an Arab Society, 1918–1939* (London: I.B. Tauris).
Seitz, Kilian. 1892. 'Die Schule von Gaza. Eine litterargeschichtliche Untersuchung', PhD dissertation, Heidelberg. https://archive.org/details/SeitzDieSchuleVonGazaEin.
Sela, Rona. 2018. '*Looted and Hidden: Palestinian Archives in Israel*; Israel's hidden Palestinian archives', documentary, Al-Jazeera English Facebook, 28 November.
Sellin, Ernst. 1926. 'Die Ausgrabungen von Sichem. Kurze vorläufige Mitteilung über die Arbeit im Sommer 1926', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 49: 304–27.
Shahak, Israel and Norton Mezvinsky. 2004. *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (London: Pluto Press).
Shahid, Irfan. 1984a. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Shahid, Irfan. 1984b. *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Shahid, Irfan. 1989. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Shahid, Irfan. 1995. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Shahid, Irfan. 2006. *Byzantium and the Arabs in Late Antiquity*. Vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Shahid, Irfan. 2009. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. Vol. 2, Part 2 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Sharab, Muhammad Hussein. 2006. *Akka: Rabbat al-Aswar, wal-Athar wal-Asrar* [Acre: Goddess of Walls, Antiquities and Secrets] (Amman: Al-Ahliyya).
Sharif, Maher. 2020. *The Palestinian Intellectual and the Stakes of Modernity (1908–1948)* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies) [in Arabic].
Sharon, Moshe. 1997–2013. *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* [A Collection of Arabic Inscriptions from Palestine], Vols 1–5 (Leiden: Brill).
Shibl, Yousef Ahmad and Matta Samaʾan Buri. 1994. *Akka: Turath wa Dhikrayat* [Acre: Heritage and Memories] (Acre: Dar al-Hamra).
Sivan, Hagith. 2008. *Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Smith, Philip. 2014. 'A Dominican Philosophy of Education', in Gabrielle Kelly and Kevin Saunders (eds), *Dominican Approaches in Education: Towards the Intelligent Use of Liberty* (Adelaide: ATF Press): 3–18.
Snyder, H. Gregory. 2000. *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews and Christians* (London: Routledge).
Somel, Selçuk Akşin. 2005. 'Christian Community Schools during the Ottoman Reform Period', in Elizabeth Özdalga (ed.), *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge): 254–73.
Sonbol, Amira El Azhary. 2003. *Women of the Jordan: Islam, Labor, and the Law* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press).
Sorabji, Richard. 2014. 'Preface, Wafting for Philoponus', in Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus, with Zacharias of Mytilene, Ammonius. Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* (London: Bloomsbury): ix–xi.
Spencer, Robert. 2010. '"Contented Homeland Peace": The Motif of Exile in Edward Said', in Adel Iskandar and Hakem Rustom (eds), *A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 389–413.
Sprengling, Martin. 1939. 'From Persian to Arabic', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56 (2) (April): 175–224.

Srouji, Elias S. 2003. *Cyclamens from Galilee: Memoirs of a Physician from Nazareth* (New York: iUniverse).
Stark, Freya. 1945. *East is West* (London: John Murray).
Steiner, Claude and Paul Perry. 1997. *Achieving Emotional Literacy* (London: Bloomsbury).
Stenger, Jan R. (ed.). 2019. *Learning Cities in Late Antiquity: The Local Dimension of Education* (London: Routledge).
Stephan, Hanna Stephan. 1935–1942. 'Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*. Part 1, Vol. 4 (1935): 103–08; Part 2, Vol. 4 (1935): 154–64; Part 3, Vol. 5 (1936): 69–73; Part 4, Vol. 6 (1937): 84–97; Part 5, Vol. 8 (1939): 137–56; Part 6, Vol. 9 (1942): 81–104.
Sternhell, Zeev. 1998. *Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Stewart, James Allan.1972. *Procopius* (New York: Twayne Publishers).
St. John Church in Haifa. 2018. 'Our School Vision'. https://stjohnhaifa.com/#/Article/School/.
St. Laurent, Beatric with Himmet Taşkomurl. 2013. 'The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890–1930: An Alternate Narrative', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 55: 6–45. http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/JQ%2055_The%20Imperial.pdf.
Streeter, B. H. 1926. *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan).
Strohmeier, Martin. 2000. 'Al Kulliyya al-Salahiyya, A Late Ottoman University in Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*. Vol.1 (London: St Edmundsbury Press): 57–62.
Stroumsa, Sarah. 1999. *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam: Ibn al-Rawandi, Abu Bakir al-Razi and Their Impact on Islamic Thought* (Leiden: Brill).
Suleiman, Yasir. 2011. *Arabic Self and Identity: A Study in Conflict and Displacement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Sultana, Donald. 2007. 'Palestinian Refugee Children and Education: Challenges for UNRWA', *World Studies in Education* 8 (2): 5–32.
Suomen Tiedeseura. 1922. *Commentationes humanarum litterarum*. Vols 42–43 (Helsinki: Helsingfors Societas Scientiarum Fennica).
Swartz, Merlin. 2009. 'Mufti', in Stanley N. Katz (ed.), *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Tadmuri, ʿUmar ʿAbdel-Salam. 1973. *Al-Ḥayah al-Thaqafiyah Tarablus al-Sham Khilala al-ʿUṣur al-Wusṭa* (Beirut: Muassasat Dar Filasṭin lil-Talif wa-al-Tarjamah).
Taha, Hamdan. 2018. 'Ancient Schools in Palestine', *This Week in Palestine* (246) (October). http://thisweekinpalestine.com/ancient-schools-palestine/.
Taha, Hamdan and Gerrit Van Der Kooij. 2014. *Tell Balata Archaeological Park Guidebook* (Ramallah: published by Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquity. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002319/231930e.pdf.
Taha, Hamdan and Gerrit Van Der Kooij. 2018. 'Ancient Schools in Palestine', *This Week in Palestine* (246) (October). http://thisweekinpalestine.com/ancient-schools-palestine/.
Taha, Ibrahim. 2010. 'Khalil Baydas', in Roger Allen (ed.), *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1850–1950* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag): 71–8.
Talgam, Rina. 2004. 'The Ekphrasis Eikonos of Procopius of Gaza and the Depiction of Mythological Themes in Palestine and Arabia during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', in B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky (eds), *Christianity in Gaza in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill): 209–34.
Talmon-Heller, Daniella. 2002. 'The Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land by Diyaʾ al-Din Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahid

al-Maqdisi (569/1173–643/1245). Text, Translation and Commentary', *Crusades* 1: 111–54.
Tamari, Salim. 2003a. 'A Miserable Year in Brooklyn: Khalil Sakakini in America, 1907–1908', Institute of Jerusalem Studies (17) (February). http://www.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/77994.
Tamari, Salim. 2003b. 'The Vagabond Café and Jerusalem's Prince of Idleness', *Jerusalem Quarterly* (19) (October). http://www.palestine-family.net/index.php?nav=5-206&did=4921&pageflip=2.
Tamari, Salim. 2004. 'Maqha al-Saʾalik wa-Emirat al-Batalla al-Maqdissiya', *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyya* 57 (Winter): 117–32.
Tamari, Salim. 2005. 'Wasif Jawhariyyeh, Popular Music and Early Modernity in Jerusalem', in Rebecca Stein and Ted Swedenburg (eds), *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press): 27–50.
Tamari, Salim. 2009. *Mountain against the Sea: Essays in Palestinian Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Tamari, Salim and Issam Nassar (eds). 2014. *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press).
Tamari, Shemuel. 1976. 'Al-Ašrafiyya: An Imperial Madrasa in Jerusalem', *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* (8th ser.) 19, fasc. 5: 537–68.
Tamimi, Iqbal. 2008. 'Remembering Professor Kulthum Odeh (1892–1965)', *London Progressive Journal*, 17 October. http://londonprogressivejournal.com/article/view/284/remembering-professor-kulthum-odeh.
Tanman, Mehmed Bah. 2012. 'Mamluk Influences on the Architechure of Anatolian Emirates', in Doris Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact* (Bonn: V&R Unipress, Bonn University Press): 283–300.
Taraki, Lisa and Rita Giacaman. 2006. 'Modernity Aborted and Reborn: Ways of Being Urban in Palestine', in Lisa Taraki (ed.), *Living Palestine: Family Survival, Resistance and Mobility under Occupation* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press): 1–50.
Tchekhanovets, Yana. 2018. *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land: Armenian, Georgian and Albanian Communities between the Fourth and Eleventh Centuries CE* (Leiden: Brill).
Tennemann, Gottlieb. 1852. *A Manual of the History of Philosophy* (London: Henry G, Bohn).
Thaumaturgus, Gregory. 1873. 'Oratio Panegvrica ad Originem', in Philip Schaff (ed.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. 6 (Edinburgh: Christian Classics Etheral Library).
Thaumaturgus, Gregory. 1998. *The Fathers of the Church. St Gregory Thamumaturgus: Life and Works* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press).
The Female Missionary Intelligencer. 1875. n.s., 18 (London: E. D. Suter). https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5i0EAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA33&dq=missionary+school+Gaza&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjhusvLv4ngAhW3URUIHVczD2oQ6AEILjAB#v=onepage&q=missionary%20school%20Gaza&f=false.
Theodurus Abu Qurrah. [*c*. 877] 1897. *Theodori Abu Ḳurra de Cultu Imaginum Libellum e codice arabico nunc primum edidit latine vertit illustravit* (Bonn),
Theodurus Abu Qurrah. 2005. *Thawdhurus Abu Qurrah* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press).
Thomas, David R. (ed.). 2001. *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill).
Thompson, Elizabeth. 2000. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Colombia University Press).

Thompson, E. P. 1971. 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the 18th Century'. *Past & Present* 50: 76–136.
Thomson, William, M. 1860. *The Land and the Book*. Vol. 2 (New York: Harper).
Tibawi, Abdul Latif. [1956] 1972. *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac).
Tibawi, Abdul Latif. 1961. *British Interests in Palestine, 1800–1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Tigay, Jeffrey H. 2002. *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers).
Timotheus. 1949. *Timotheus of Gaza on Animals: Fragments of a Byzantine Paraphrase of an Animal-Book of the 5th Century A.D*, edited by F. S. Bodenheimer and A. Rabinowitz (Paris: Academie Internationale d'histoire des Sciences).
Tochon, Francois Victor. 2015. *Signs and Symbols in Education: Educational Semiotics* (Blue Mounds, WI: Deep University Press and Poiesis Creations).
Todd, Henry John. 1823. *An Account of Greek Manuscripts, Chiefly Biblical, Which Had Been in the Possession of the Late Professor Carlyle* (London: Richard Gilbert).
Torstrick, Rebecca L. 2000. *The Limits of Coexistence: Identity Politics in Israel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
Totah, Khalil. 1926. 'The Contributions of Arabs to Education', PhD dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.
Totah, Khalil. 1932a. *Al-Tarbiya ʿInd al-Arab* [Education among the Arabs] (Al-Quds al-Matbaʾa al-Tijariyya).
Totah, Khalil. 1932b. 'Education in Palestine', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Palestine, A Decade of Development*, with Harry Viteles (ed.). Vol. 164.
Totah, Khalil. 2002. *The Contributions of Arabs to Education* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press).
Totah, Khalil and ʿUmar Salih Al-barghouthi. 1923. *Tarikh Filastin* [The History of Palestine] (Al-Quds: Matbaʾat Bayt al-Maqdis).
Totah, Khalil and Habib Khouri. 1923. *Jughrafiyyat Filastin* [The Geography of Palestine] (Al-Quds: Matbaʾat Bayt al-Maqdis).
Totah, Khalil and Boulus Shehadeh. 1920. *Tarikh al-Quds wa-Daliluha* [The History of Jerusalem and its Guide] (Al-Quds: Matbaʾat Miraat al-Sharq).
Treadgold, Warren T. 1997. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
Treiger, Alexander. 2012. 'The Arabic Tradition', in Augustine Casiday (ed.), *The Orthodox Christian World* (London: Routledge): 89–104.
Treiger, Alexander. 2015. 'Palestinian Origenism and the Early History of the Maronites: In Search of the Origins of the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle*', in Damien Janos (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges Between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*: 124 (Leiden: Brill): 44–80.
Treiger, Alexander. 2018. 'Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition (3): The Paterikon of the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Chariton', *Chronos* 38: 7–47.
Tucker, Judith E. 1998. *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Tucker, Judith E. 2002. 'Biography as History: The Exemplary Life of Khayr al-Din al-Ramli', in Mary Ann Fay (ed.), *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 9–18.
'Tunisia Becomes First Country in the MENA Region to Introduce Sex Ed in Schools'. 2019. Egyptian Streets, 3 December. https://egyptianstreets.com/2019/12/03/tunisia-

becomes-first-country-in-the-mena-region-to-introduce-sex-ed-in-schools/?fbclid=IwAR3sdegF62Ynk8_HHVjP9valDwtklDn9rD-K4nJU8vuO5W0I7SwRnyWkYmw.
UC Berkeley Events. 2007. 'Memory, Inequality and Power: Palestine and the…', YouTube 21 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pb2pYStv8x8&fbclid=IwAR0_z8EuwrV1yZxpFIkOYIipykPC0xZ4juSxYsaZlW1an3_v9s1w6CiuUO4&app=desktop.
Urbano, Arthur P. 2013. *The Philosophical Life: Biography and the Crafting of Intellectual Identity in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press).
Vailhé, S. 1908. 'Caesarea Palaestinae', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company). New Advent. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03134b.htm.
van Berchem, Max. 1894. *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum* (Paris: Ernest Leroux).
Vander Werff, Lyle L. 1977. *Christian Missions to Muslims: The Record* (Pasadena, CA: William Cary Library).
Vermes, Geza. 1977. *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins).
Vikør, Knut S. 2005. *Between God and the Sultan: A History of Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Vila, David. 2000. 'Texts on Iconoclasm: John of Damascus and the Council of Hiereia', in Richard Valantasis (ed.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press): 454–63.
Voll, John Obert. 1994. *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press).
Von Albrecht, Michael. 1997. *A History of Roman Literature: From Livius Andronicus to Boethius: with Special Regard to Its Influence on World Literature*. Vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill).
Vroom, Joanita. 2018. 'Gaza, Amphorae and Gaza Wine', in Oliver Nicholson (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*. Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 648.
Wallace, Robert W. 2004. 'The Power to Speak – and Not to Listen – in Ancient Athens', in Ineke Sluiter and Ralph Mark Rosen (eds), *Free Speech in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill): 221–32
Walls, Archibald G. 1984. 'The Third Jewel of the Third Shrine of Islam', *Arts and the Islamic World* (2): 7–12.
Walls, Archibald G. 1990. *Geometry and Architecture in Islamic Jerusalem: A Study of the Ashrafiyya* (Buckhurst Hill, UK: Scorpion).
Wasserstein, Bernard. 1977. '"Clipping the Claws of the Colonisers": Arab Officials in the Government of Palestine, 1917–48', *Middle Eastern Studies* 13 (2): 171–94.
Wasserstein, Bernard. 1991. *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict, 1917–1929* (Oxford: Blackwell).
Watteeuw, Lieve. 2018. 'Khirbet Mird Papyri – Research and Conservation Project – Book Heritage Lab', *Khirbet Mird Project* 4 May. https://theo.kuleuven.be/apps/press/bookheritagelab/2018/05/04/khirbet-mird-papyri-research-and-conservation-project-in-the-book-heritage-lab/
Watts, Edwards J. 2008. *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Webb, Ruth. 2018. 'Gaza, Schools and Rhetoric', in Oliver Nicholson (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*. Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 648.
Westberg, David. 2009. 'The Rite of Spring: Erotic Celebration in the Dialexeis and Ethopoiiai of Procopius of Gaza', in Ingela Nilsson (ed.), *Plotting with Eros: Essays on the Poetics of Love and the Erotics of Reading* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen): 187–211.
Westberg, David. 2017. 'The Letter Collection of Procopius of Gaza', in Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin and Edward J. Watts (eds), *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 394–417.

Westberg, David. 2019. 'Ideals of Education and Sophistic Realities in Late Antique Gaza', in Jan R. Stenger (ed.), *Learning Cities in Late Antiquity: The Local Dimension of Education* (London: Routledge): 164–86.
Wilken, Robert Louis. 2012. *The First Thousand Years: A Global History of Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
Willson, Rachel Beckles. 2013. *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Wilson, Charles W. (ed.). 1881. *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*. Vol. 2. (London: J. S. Virtue).
Wilson, N. G. 1983. *Scholars of Byzantium* (London: Duckworth & Co).
Winter, Michael. 2005. *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule, 1517–1798* (London: Routledge).
Wren, Thomas. 2007. 'Philosophical Moorings', in Larry Nucci, Darcia Narvaez and Tobias Krettenauer (eds), *Handbook of Moral and Character Education* (London: Rutledge): 11–29.
Yehoshua, Yaʾqub. 1974. *Tarikh al-Sihafa al-ʿArabiyya fi Filastin fil-ʿAhd alʾUthmani, 1908–1918* [The History of the Arabic Press in Palestine in the Ottoman Era 1908–1918] (Jerusalem: Matbaʾat al-Maʾarif).
Younan, Munib. 2003. *Witnessing for Peace: In Jerusalem and the World*, ed. by Frederick M. Strickert (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press).
Zaborowski, Jason R. 2019. 'An Arabic Manuscript of the Visions of Anba Shenouda: Edition and Translation', in David Bertaina, Sandra Toenies Keating, Mark N. Swanson and Alexander Treiger (eds), *Heirs to the Apostle: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sydney H. Griffith* (Leiden: Brill): 446–94.
Zachariah of Mytilene. 2008. *Life of Severus* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press).
Zeʾevi, Dror. 1996. *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
Zeghal, Malika. 2012. 'The Multiple Faces of Islamic Education in a Secular Age', in Jeffrey T Kenney and Ebrahim Moosa (eds), *Islam in the Modern World* (London: Routledge): 125–48.
Zeiner, Noelle K. 2005. *Nothing Ordinary Here: Statius as Creator of Distinction in the Silvae* (London: Routledge).
Zerubavel, Yael. 2002. 'The "Mythological Sabra" and Jewish Past: Trauma, Memory, and Contested Identities', *Israel Studies* 7 (2): 115–44.
Ziadeh, Nicola A. 1953. *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
Zucker, Arnaud. 2020. 'Zoology', in Wolfram Brandes (ed.), A *Companion of Byzantine Science*. Vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill): 261–301.

INDEX

Abba Seridus monastery 104
ʿAbbas Hilmi Basha 247
ʿAbboud, Karima 227–8
ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwan (caliph) 97, 109, 113, 128
ʿAbdel Hadi, ʿAwni 270
ʿAbdel Majid, sultan 184
ʿAbdel-Shafi, Haider 271
ʿAbduh, Muhammad 193
Abdul Hamid II (sultan) 241, 247
Abu-Lughod Ibrahim 5, 265–6, 277, 294
Abu Nabbut, Muhammad 204
Abu Qurrah, Theodurus 114, 124, 126–9
academic robes 91, 156, 189, Gown and Town (university and city)
acre 4, 40, 142, 144, 148, 164, 191–2, 195, 201–6, 213, 215, 219, 222–3, 271, 276, 293, 296; also Ahmadiyya Seminary of Acre
Adorno, Theodor 243
Aeneas, of Gaza 84–90
Africanus, Julius 66
Augustine, Saint 71
Ahmadiyya Seminary of Acre 40, 45, 163, 201–6, 253, 256, 270, 290, 293; also 'Azhar of Palestine'
al-Amiriyya School (al-Madrasa al-Amiriyya), in Jaffa 277
al-Antaki, Yahya Ibn Said Ibn Yahya 112, 295
Al-ʿArabi, Abu Bakr 148
al-ʿArif, ʿArif 270
al-ʿAsqalani, ʿAbd al-Rahim Ibn ʿAli (Virtuous Judge) 180–1
al-ʿAsqalani, Ala al-Din 166
al-ʿAsqalani, Ibn Hajar 174, 187
al-Azhar Mosque 202
al-Azhari, ʿAbd al-ʿAlim Salih 247
al-Dabbagh, Mustafa Murad 202, 271
Aleppo 10, 131–2
Alexander, the Great 53
Alexandria 6, 9, 18, 24, 38–40, 42–4, 53–4, 58–60, 64–7, 69, 75, 80, 84–6, 278, 292
al-Farabi 25, 47, 72, 91, 132, 146–9, 154, 260, 262, 287
al-Fihri, Fatima 175
al-Fihri, Maryam 175
al-Ghazali 148–9, 158–9, 164–5
al-Harawi, Ali 136–7, 149
al-Husseini, ʿAbd al-Qader 180
al-Husseini, Faisal 180
al-Husseini, Hasan ʿAbdel-Lattif 291
al-Husseini, Hind 180, 296
al-Husseini, Ishaq Musa 263, 276, 291
al-Husseini, Kamil 193
al-Husseini, Muhammad Amin 191, 193–4
al-Hussein, Musa Kazem 180
al-Isfahani, Abu al-Faraj 254
al-Isfahani, ʿImad al-Din 149
al-ʿIssa, ʿIssa, 220
al-ʿIssa, Yousef Hanna, 220
al-Jahiz 94–5, 254
al-Jawzi, Lindly Saliba 226
al-Jazzar, Ahmad Pasha 163, 201–2
al-Jazzar Mosque, in Acre 201–2, 204–6, 293
al-Jukandar, al-Malik 179
al-Karmi, Hasan Said 263, 276
al-Khalid, Khalil 291
al-Khalidi, Muhammad Ruhi 209, 230, 270, 291–2
al-Khalidi, Muhammad Sunaʾallah 291
al-Khalidi, Yusuf Diya al-Din 292
al-Khalidiyya Library (Jerusalem) 45, 291–2
Al-Khalil (Hebron) 143, 152, 156–8, 166, 168–9, 192, 196–7, 203, 218–19, 228, 268, 291
Al-Khalili, Jim 117

Al-Khatib, Muhammad Nimr 205
al-Kindi 121, 154, 295
al-Mahdi (caliph) 217
al-Maʾmun (caliph) 115, 218
al-Mansur (caliph) 117–18
al-Maqrizi 35
al-Marwazi 94
al-Muʿtasim (caliph) 254
al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani 35, 122, 295
al-Nahda school/college 244, 251–2, 267
al-Najah college (university), of Nablus 213–14, 217, 220, 293, 298
alphabetical writing, in Bronze Age Palestine 1, 38
Al-Quds University 170, 212, 217
al-Qudsi, Kamal al-Din Ibn Abi Sharif 177
al-Ramla 14, 21, 28, 109, 121, 143, 148, 168, 191–2, 195–7, 199–200, 202, 216, 232, 279
al-Ramli, Abu al-ʿAbbas (Ibn Arslan) 168
al-Ramli, Khair al-Din 12, 191–2, 195–200, 296
al-Ramli, Najm al-Din 199
al-Ramli, Walid bin Hammad 148
al-Rashid, Haroun 287
al-Salih, Muhammad Suleiman 219
al-Tabari, Mahmoud Taher Saʿid 139
al-Tamimi, Ahmad 157
al-Tawhidi, Abu Hayyan 94–5
al-Tumurtashi, Salih Ibn Ahmad 12, 191–2, 195–200, 296
al-Turtushi, Abu Bakr 148–9
al-ʿUmar, Dhaher 201–2
al-Walid (Umayyad Caliph) 258
al-Warraq, Abu ʿIsa 27
al-Yazuri, Muhammad Hassan ibn ʿAli 121–2
American Cristian Friends School (Quakers) in Ramallah 212, 240, 271
American School of Oriental Research, in Jerusalem 238, 293
American University of Beirut (Syrian Protestant College) 205, 212, 217, 221, 228, 237, 247, 270–1, 273–4, 276
American University of Cairo 270, 297
ʿAnabtawi, Wasif 274
Anani, Nabil 132
Antoninus Pius (Roman emperor) 73
Arab Nahda education 7, 40, 207, 239, 240, 243–4, 247, 252, 267–8, 273
Arabesque calligraphy and art 9, 137, 188
Arafat, Yasser 194
Aristotelian philosophy of education 7, 25, 36, 73, 92, 110, 114, 154, 241, 243, 246–8, 250, 262
Ashrafiyya college, in Jerusalem 147, 161, 174, 177–9
Ashrawi, Hanan 212
Asqalan (Ascalon, Majdal-Asqalan) 37–8, 54, 57–8, 60–1, 70, 73, 80, 82–3, 87, 104, 137, 143, 148, 166, 174, 180–1, 187
Athens 6, 18–19, 33, 37–9, 46, 54, 57–60, 62, 72, 84, 88, 90–1, 96, 98–9, 110, 191, 241–2, 278; also 'Athens of Asia' (Gaza); Plato's Academy
'Athens of Asia' (Gaza) 37–8, 80, 84, 90–1, 94
Augusta Victoria hospital (Jerusalem) 236–7
Augustine, Saint 71
Ayalon, Ami 3
Azhar college (university), of Cairo 18, 34, 40, 145, 157, 191–6, 202–4, 206, 221, 247, 270, 291, 296; also 'Azhar of Palestine'
'Azhar of Palestine' 201–06; also Ahmadiyya seminary of Acre
Azhar University of Gaza 194

Bacon, Francis 6
Baghdad 14–15, 17, 18, 21, 26–7, 28–30, 38–42, 73, 108–10, 112, 117–20, 122, 127–9, 132, 136, 145, 147, 149, 164–5, 173–4, 187, 196, 204, 221, 245–6, 254, 261, 287
Baldwin 139
Balfour, Arthur 272
Barakat, Tayseer 132–3
Baransi, Salih 244
Barnard, L. W 71
Basra 14, 123, 129
Beidas, Khalil Ibrahim 209, 220, 222–4, 226, 230–1, 276, 278, 288, 291
Beirut (Berytos) 10, 18, 38–40, 42–5, 59, 67, 69, 75–6, 84, 87–8, 90, 95, 98–101, 154, 191, 205, 208, 214, 217, 221–2, 225, 228, 237, 240, 247, 270–1, 273–4, 276, 278, 281, 288, 292
Beit Jala 209, 219, 221, 225, 228, 234, 237, 269; also Teachers' Training College for Women
Belisarius 78
Bernal, Martin 38–9

Bethlehem 64, 105, 133, 135, 149, 211–16, 219, 221, 227–8, 233, 235–6, 238, 270, 281
Bethlehem University 213–15, 281
Birzeit 133; also University of Birzeit
Bishop Blyth College 210, 240
Bohl, Franz 52
Bolshevik Revolution 225–6, 229
Book markets, and major Muslim mosques 8, 26–8
Boullataa, Kamal 133
Boulos, Jubran 233
Braille literacy system 65
British School of Archaeology, in Jerusalem 238
Bseiso, Muʾin 297
Burak, Guy 197
Busailah, Reja-e 277

Caesarea-Palaestina (Caesarea-Maritima) 9, 18, 23–4, 30–1, 33–4, 37–40, 42–6, 54, 58–70, 74–82, 84–5, 91, 93, 95–101, 104, 107, 117 125, 129, 137–8, 140, 150, 153–4, 163, 166, 191, 267, 278; also Metropolis Palaestinae
Cairo (al-Fustat) 15, 28, 30, 40, 161, 166–7, 171–4, 179, 181–3, 121, 185, 187, 191–4, 196, 202–3, 206, 225–6, 247, 251, 258–9, 276, 278, 291–2
Cairo (Arab-Jewish) Genizah 21, 26, 28, 121
Cameron, Averil 285
Canaan, Tawfiq 237
Carlyle, Joseph Dacre 285
Castoriadis, Cornelius 6
Catechetical (Christian) school of Alexandria 9 39, 65–6
Catechetical teaching methods, in Roman Palestine and Arabia 65–6, 68
Çelebi, Evliya 179, 183
character education 6–7, 91–2, 241, 244–8; also *tarbiya*
Choricius, of Gaza 84, 86, 88–9, 91
Chosroes I 78
Christian Zionism 238
Church Missionary Society's schools, in modern Palestine 212, 225, 232–3, 271
Ciccolella, Federica 85, 285
Cicero 57–8
civic education and citizenship, in Palestine 4, 6, 13, 30, 90–4, 209, 250
clay tablet writings, in ancient Palestine 7, 9, 17–18, 25, 43, 50–1, 140
Codex Iustinianus 99
Codex (written) literacy versus oral performance of textuality 3, 12–14, 18, 28, 258
Codex Sinaiticus 20, 68, 284
college journals, in Mandatory Palestine 220, 274–5
Collèges des Frères, in modern Palestine 211–12, 214–15, 217
Columbia University's Teachers College 271
Constantinople (Istanbul) 28, 39, 59, 60, 69, 75–6, 84, 91, 95, 98–9, 101, 105, 116, 118, 120, 138–9, 196–7, 202–3, 225, 270, 277–8, 285
Cordoba 17, 29–30, 110, 187, 259
Cosmas Melodus (Cosmas the Hymnographer) 113–14, 131
critical education and learning, in Palestine 5–7, 11, 41, 47, 99, 150, 153–4, 186, 224, 229, 242–4, 248, 250, 252, 255, 262–7, 272
critical social theory 242–3
cross-cultural learning 7–8, 10, 16, 18, 24, 268
cuneiform writings, in Palestine 4, 9, 19, 25, 38, 43, 49–51
Cyril, of Schythopolis (Beisan) 124, 126

Dar al-Tifel al-Arabi school, in Jerusalem 180
Dar al-ʿUlum (Cairo) 193, 221
Dar al-ʿUlum school, in Jaffa 219
Darwaza, Muhammad ʿIzzat 217
Darwish, Mahmoud 47, 123, 252, 267
Decian, emperor 68
Dewey, John 272–4
dialectical and critical pedagogical methods of learning, in Palestine 10, 13, 37–8, 41–2, 68, 87, 92, 114–16, 154–5, 241–3, 272; also Socrates method
Dorotheos, of Gaza 104
Dostoevsky, Fyodor 222, 231

early writing of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Fertile Crescent 1, 4, 9, 19
École biblique et archéologique française, in Jerusalem 238, 293

economics of literacy 7, 13, 27, 32, 55, 60–1, 80–2, 86, 108, 136, 152, 163, 170–1
educational revolutions, in Palestine 1–3, 7–8, 10, 14, 17–22, 25–6, 30–3, 39, 227–8, 59–101, 105, 109–11, 127, 143–85, 207, 232, 236, 240, 244, 249, 251–2, 256, 263, 268–9, 271–2, 275, 279, 281, 291
Edward Said National Conservatory of Music 214
Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) 43, 61, 105
elite education, in Palestine 5–6, 13, 22–3, 55–6, 63, 69–70, 74, 76, 84–5, 87–91, 96, 101, 108, 110, 113, 125, 148, 164, 176–7, 185–6, 203, 205, 217, 232, 245, 250, 252–4, 256, 263, 273–4, 290
Elusa (al-Khalasa) 23, 89, 94, 98
emotional literacy 46, 93, 266
Epic of Gilgamesh 51
Euclid 72
Euripides 111, 285–6
European and Russian Missionary School Race for Palestine 209–11, 216, 221, 229, 238
Eusebius, of Caesarea-Maritima (Caesarea-Paelestina) 63–6, 74–80
Eutocius, of Ascalon 70, 73

Fabri, Felix 174
Falastin (newspaper) 220, 222, 226, 251
Farsoun, Samih 218
Foucault, Michel 6
Freire, Paulo 6–7, 266–7
Fretellus, Rorgo, of Nazareth 139–40

Gaza 4, 6, 11, 13–14, 18, 22–4, 30–1, 33, 36–7, 47, 80–95, 98–101, 104–5, 191–2, 194–200, 204–5, 216, 219, 232–3, 236, 242, 250, 252, 265, 268, 271, 274, 278–81, 285; also Rhetorical School of Gaza; also 'Athens of Asia'; also monastic school of Gaza
Gaza amphorae 82–3
Gaza wine industry 17, 82, 88, 106
Gerard, of Nazareth 139, 141
Gerber, Haim 199
Gezer 31, 50
Ghabra, Shafiq 281
Ghassanid Arab kingdoms, of Palestine 15, 23, 35–6, 60, 62, 74, 78, 89, 96, 106–7, 122, 130, 295
Ghattas (Sister Marie Alphonsine Danil) 180, 235
Ghuri, Emil 217
Gibbon, Edward 61, 78
Giroux, Henry 6
classroom learning experiences 6, 37, 51–3, 73–4, 249–50, 256
Gogol, Nikolai 231
Goody, Jack 186
Gorky, Maxim 222, 231
Government Arab College (*al-Kulliyya al-'Arabiyya*), of Jerusalem 163, 217, 249, 267–78; also Young Men's Teacher Training College
Gown and Town (university and city) 4, 30–1, 90–1, 156–57, 162, 174, 187
Gregory, of Neocaesarea 67–8
Griffith, Sidney 118, 127–8

Habiby, Emile 251
Hadassah Nursing School, in Jerusalem 272
Hadjittofi, Fotini 91
Haifa 191, 203, 209–10, 214–16, 218, 231, 235–6, 278, 287
Halabi, Georgi 226
Halabi, Khalil 134
Hammurabi, Code of 43
Hanna, bishop Atallah 112
Hanna, Yousef 223
Hebrew University of Jerusalem 209, 272, 278, 288, 293
Hegel, Friedrich 243
Heraclius, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem 137
Herodotus 13–4, 20, 77, 87
higher education and urban regeneration 168–9; also Gown and Town (university and city)
Hilmi, Ahmad 180
Hind al-Husseini College for Women 296
Hitti, Philip 259
Hobsbawm, Eric 248
Hopwood, Derek, 221
hymnography and musical literacy, in Palestine 8, 10, 42, 46–7, 113, 118, 123–4, 126, 130–2, 287, 295; Cosmas the Hymnographer

Ibn 'Abbas, Abu Muhammad 118
Ibn Abi Sharif, Kamal al-Din 163–4
Ibn ʿAdi, Yahya 112

Ibn al-Haʾim, Ahmad ibn Muhammad 163, 166–7
Ibn al-Salah 149, 163–5
Ibn ʿArabi, Muhyiddin 149, 165
Ibn Arslan 168
Ibn Batriq, Said 112, 295
Ibn Battuta 29, 149
Ibn Hubaysh, Muhammad Ibn Budeiri 291
Ibn Jubayr 149
Ibn Karram, Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad 149, 161–2
Ibn Khaldun 16, 47, 147–9, 256
Ibn Mansur (Yaha al-Dimashqi, John of Damarcus) 8, 42, 47, 111–18, 126, 132, 126, 284, 287
Ibn Miskawayh 7, 241, 243, 245–8
Ibn Munqidh, Usama 136–7, 149
Ibn Nadim 27, 73
Ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi 152
Ibn Rushd (Averroes) 29, 36, 47, 154, 175, 259
Ibn Sayyar 27
Ibn Shaddad 42, 163–4
Ibn Sina 47, 154, 253, 255, 260
Ibn Thabit, Hassan 35
Ibn Tibbon, Yehuda 262
Ibn Tufayl 36
Isidorus, of Gaza 37–8, 72, 91
Israel Museum 288
Issa, Nasser 223

Jabala IV 101
Jabr, Adel 226
Jabra, Ibrahim Jabra 251, 270
Jaffa (Joppa) 4, 22, 121, 153, 168, 191, 195–6, 199, 204, 208, 211–12, 214–16, 219–20, 227, 233, 236, 251, 265, 268, 270–1, 274, 277–9, 287, 292
Jahshan, Yusuf 12, 199
Jamal Pasha 184
Jawhariyya college, in Jerusalem 161, 173, 176–8
Jawhariyyeh, Jiryis 134
Jawhariyyeh, Tawfiq 134
Jawhariyyeh, Wasif 134, 239, 249
Jericho 26, 31, 50, 105, 109, 111, 215, 275
Jerome, Saint 46, 63–4, 71, 75, 79
Jerusalem (Al-Quds, Aelia Capitolina, Iliya) 4, 7, 10, 14–15, 17–18, 20–34, 38–40, 45, 54–6, 60–1, 69, 78, 80, 89, 110–13, 116, 119, 122–37, 139–40, 142–89, 192–206, 209–20, 222, 226–31, 232–41, 243–4, 247–9, 252–3, 256–60, 267–78, 284–93
Jesus of Nazareth 34, 40, 54, 56, 63, 66, 71, 78, 116, 133, 236, 258, 258
Josephus 53–7, 61
Jouhar, Muhammad ʿAli 180
Jubran, Khalil 224
Jubran, Salim 227
Julian, of Ascalon 60
Jund Filastin (Arab province of Palestine), 12, 58, 106, 109, 117, 140, 196–97, 222
Justin, of Neapolis (Nablus) 54, 70–4, 114
Justinian, emperor 44–5, 69, 76–8, 98–100, 105, 110

Kant, Immanuel 33
Katul, Jibrail 276
Kedar, Benjamin 141
Kennedy, George 86
Khalidi, Ahmad Samih 273–5, 291
Khalidi, Ismail Raghib 271
Khalidi, Rashid 218
Khalidi, Tarif 273
Khalidi, Walid 9, 273
Khalil, Yousef 223
Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre 252
Khalil Sakakini Preparatory School for Girls, Jerusalem 252
Khalili, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sharaf al-Din 291
Khamis, Salem Hanna 271
Khatuniyya college, in Jerusalem 32–3, 159, 179–80; also Muslim women patrons of public education
Khayzaran, Muhammad Subhi 203
Khouri, Jibrail 223
Khusraw, Nasir-i 128
Knowledge/power nexus 6, 13, 40
kuttab schools (Muslim, Jewish and Christian), in Palestine 3, 15, 33–4, 153, 201, 218, 253–66

Lajjun 143
Lasallian educational intuitions, in Palestine 214–15
Law college of Alexandria 40, 42–4, 95, 98–100, 154, 191
Law college of Berytos (Beirut) 40, 42–5, 67, 90, 95, 99–101
Law college of Caesarea-Paelestina 40, 42–4, 94, 95–101, 154, 191

Law college of Constantinople 100–01
legal education, in Palestine 4, 8, 16, 25, 32–3, 40–5, 75–6, 84, 95–101, 144, 147, 152–3; also Law College of Caesarea-Paelestina
Libanius 44
libraries of Mesopotamia 51
library of al-Aqsa Mosque 45, 148, 166, 176, 179, 204, 291, 293
library of Alexandrea 39, 59, 84
library of Alkazar of Cordoba 29
library of Ashurbanipal 29, 51
library of Birmingham University 19, 283
library of Caesarea-Palaestina 39, 45–6, 59–61, 63–4, 67, 69, 74–5, 81, 107, 267
library of Greek Patriarchate, in Jerusalem 285, 295
library of Hebrew University, in Jerusalem 209, 272, 278–81, 293, 297
library (scriptorium) of Marda monastery (Khirbet al-Mird) 20–2, 24, 45, 105, 107, 110–11, 286
library (scriptorium) of monastery of Mar Saba 20, 45, 107–8, 117–34, 283–6
library (scriptorium) of Nazareth 45, 135–6, 139–42
library of Qadri Tuqan, in Nablus 293
library of Sharia Court, of Jerusalem 4, 21, 156–7, 172, 185, 195–6, 199–200, 257, 290–1, 293
library of Saint Catherine's monastery 20, 76, 105, 114, 117, 138, 284–6
library of Syriac Orthodox monastery of Sain Mark's (Jerusalem) 290–1
Lifta 219
Linder, Amnon 125
linguistic literacy 5, 8–11, 13, 15, 21, 25, 43, 93, 227
literacy and functionality 8–9, 30, 33, 49, 51, 151
literacy from-below 34, 197, 253–66
literacy for the visually impaired 9, 65
Lyceum school, in Ahrens 19, 33, 38, 57, 90; also peripatetic teachers, in Palestine,
Lydda 56, 123, 133–4, 143, 196, 199

Mahamid, Hatim 153
Mahmoud, 'Abd al-Rahim 298
Maimonides (Ibn Maimun) 54, 175, 181, 259–62
Maiumas, port town of Gaza 57, 82, 101
Maiumas-Ascalon 57
Makdisi, George 41–2
Mansa Musa 29
Mansour, Sliman 132–3
Mar Chariton monastery 111
Mar Saba monastery 8, 20–2, 24, 42, 46, 68, 103–34, 284–7, 290
Marda monastery (Khirbet al-Mird, Kastellion) 20
Marinus, of Neapolis (Nablus) 37–8, 70, 72, 84, 91
Marx, Karl 243
Mary, mother of Jesus 46, 188
Masalha, Nur 47
mass literacy 5, 8, 10–11, 15, 17, 22, 32, 81, 113, 150, 207–8, 227, 251–2, 256, 263, 269, 275
mathematical studies (and *hisab*) 25, 29, 37, 49, 57, 65, 68, 70, 72–3, 84, 94, 104, 106, 154, 157, 166–7, 188, 204, 229, 255, 271–2, 277
medical studies and hospital training 22, 84, 105–6, 146, 152, 158, 164, 170, 180–3, 194, 208–10, 222, 225–7, 230, 235–7, 256, 260, 279, 296
Megiddo 31, 50–1
Menocal, Maria Rosa 29
Metropolis Palaestinae 9, 31, 59, 61–3, 78, 80; also Caesarea-Maritima
Mingana, Alphonse 19, 283
monastic school of Gaza 104, 120
Montesquieu 231
Mosul 129, 164, 187
Mount Zion English College 240
Muhammad, Prophet 12, 16, 19, 35, 71, 172
Muhawi, Ibrahim 212
Muhtasibs, in Palestine 157–8, 166–7, 182, 194
Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi 12, 155, 161, 163, 165–6, 168, 170, 177, 195–7, 199
Mulabbis 178
Mulkiyya College, of Istanbul 270
multilingualism 11, 18, 22–4, 55, 61, 96–7, 106, 113, 208, 215, 270, 289
multiliteracies 4–5, 10–11, 13, 25, 39, 119, 255, 266
mushaf 14, 18–19, 28, 258

musical literacy, in Palestine 5, 8, 46–7, 130, 132, 188, 232, 243, 245–6, 248–9, 252, 267–77; also hymnography and musical literacy, in Palestine
Muwafi, Amin 205

Nablus (Neapolis) 14, 17, 21, 23, 28, 30–1, 37–9, 43, 47, 50, 54, 61, 62, 70–3, 80, 104, 114, 139, 143, 152, 158, 170, 201–2, 206–8, 212–13, 216–17, 220, 231, 233, 235–6, 270–1, 292–3; also papermaking
Nablus Saria Court, records 158
Nashashibi, Mufid 217
Nashashibi, Muhammad Isaʾaf 263
Nasir, Elizabeth 5, 180, 214
Nasir, Hanna 214
Nasir, Nabiha 180, 214
Nasir, Victoria 180, 214
Nasriyya college, in Jerusalem 159, 163, 165
nationalist paradigm of education 18
Nazareth 4, 45, 135–6, 103, 139–42, 195, 205, 209–15, 220–30, 232–3, 235, 269, 271; also Library of Nazareth
Nessana, Arabic and Greek papyri documents of 22–4, 89, 96–7
Nietzsche, Friedrich 6, 246–8
Nizamiyya college, of Bagdad 41–2, 149, 164–5
Nuʾaima, Mikhail 224
Nur al-Din ʿAli 174
Nusseibeh, Sari 217

ʿOdeh, Kulthum 209, 222, 225–7
Omar (caliph) 78, 143
Origen 39, 54, 63–70, 74–5, 89, 99–100, 114, 120, 125, 129, 267, 284, 294; also Origen's school
Origen's school (*didascaleion*) of Caesarea-Palaestina 9, 39, 44, 63, 66–8, 100
Ottoman Constitutional Revolution (Young Turk Revolution) of 1908 208, 218, 239 240, 246, 277

Palaestini liquors, of Roman and Byzantine Palestine 106
Palestine Arab Medical Association 237
Palestine Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller Museum) 213, 216, 289
Palestine Department of Antiquities 97, 296
Palestine Educational Company 292
Palestine Government's Department of Education, in Mandatory period 264, 268–9, 273–4, 276–7
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 133, 191–2, 194
Palestine Medical Services 279
Palestine Nakba (Palestinian catastrophe of 1948) 11, 32, 132–4, 180, 197, 204–6, 214, 231, 234, 237, 251, 254, 256, 263–4, 268, 271, 273, 275–6, 278–81, 287, 291
Palestine Scientific Library 292
Palestinian Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller Museum) 97, 24, 111, 213, 216, 289
Palestinian authority 157, 194, 265
Palestinian colleges and Islamic architecture 137, 151, 155, 159, 168–70, 174–5, 177–80
Palestinian Curriculum Development Centre 265
Palestinian headteachers (*scholarches*) of the Platonic Academy, in Athens 37–8, 54, 58, 72, 91
Palestinian iconography and arts 8, 114–17, 131–4
Palestinian National Liberation League 217
Palestinian nationalism, and education 2, 4, 208, 211, 216, 220, 231, 240, 267–81
Palestinian Research Centre, in Beirut 288
Palestinian translation movement under classical Islam 8, 25, 30, 103–33
Palestinian uprising, of 1703–1705, 157, 183–5
Palestinian uprising, of 1935–39, 203, 213–14, 275
Pamphilus, of Caesarea-Palaestina 63–4, 74–5, 125
Papermaking, in Nablus 14, 17, 21, 26, 28, 207–8
Papermaking revolutions 7, 14, 17–18, 20–1, 26–7, 127, 136, 140, 147, 151, 207–8, 244
Papyrus writing, in Palestine 3, 7, 17, 19–24, 26, 39, 50–1, 59, 64, 69, 76, 96–7, 111, 140, 286
Parchment texts, in Palestine 3, 7, 14, 17–20, 39, 103, 106, 111, 124, 140, 147, 284, 286, 291

Patrich, Joseph 119, 125, 130, 285
Peripatetic and iterant teachers, in Palestine 33–4, 36; also travelling sufi teachers
Perlman, Eliezer 289
Petah Tiqva 178
Petra papyrus archives 23
Philip, the Arab (Roman emperor) 66, 70, 74
Philo of Alexandria 53–4, 56
Philo of Larisa 57
Physical education, in Palestine 25, 87, 91, 219–20, 230, 243–4, 246, 277
Plato 6, 37–8, 71–3, 54, 57–8, 70–3, 84–92, 99, 147, 241–2, 246–7, 286
Plato's Academy, in Athens 6, 37–9, 54, 57–8, 72, 84, 90–1, 99, 110, 242; also Palestinian headteachers of the Platonic Academy
Pontifical Biblical Institute, in Jerusalem 238
Printing press, in Palestine 10, 17, 21, 39, 207–9, 218, 227, 263, 292
Procopius, of Caesarea-Palaestina (Caesarea-Maritima) 63, 70, 75–8, 84, 93
Procopius, of Gaza 75–6, 84–6, 88–92, 94, 101
Proclus, of Athens 72, 84, 91
proto-Arabic (Akkadian Arabic) 1
proto-Canaanite alphabet 1, 294
Pushkin, Alexander 222, 231
Pythagoras 72

Qamhiyya college, of Cairo 16, 149
Qaqun 143
Qaʾwar, Arif 271
Qaytbay, sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf 161, 177–9
Qleibo, Ali 159, 212, 217
Qumran archives (Dead Sea scrolls) 20, 288

Raʾad, Khalil 227
Ramallah 210, 212, 216–217, 232, 234, 240, 252, 271–272
Rawdat al-Maʾarif school, of Jerusalem 212, 219–20, 240, 275
rhetorical School of Gaza, in Byzantine Palestine 4, 6, 13, 33, 37, 39, 43, 66, 69, 75, 81, 84, 88–94, 98, 107, 115, 242, 285
rhetorical studies and performance literacy, in Palestine 3, 8, 13–14, 23, 33–4, 43–4, 54, 64, 67, 76, 81, 84–94, 98, 100–1, 104, 141, 149, 154–5, 192, 196, 230, 256, 286
Richard the Lionheart, king 137
Rosary Sisters, schools of 180, 212, 235, 237
Rosenthal, Erwin 260
Rote learning and memorization 15–6, 34, 50, 153, 244, 250, 256–7, 264–6
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 33, 231
Rural Training College, in Tulkarm 276
Russian (Maskob) schools in Palestine 209–11, 217, 220, 223–5, 228–30, 269, 274, 288, 292
Russian Palestine Society 221–2, 225, 228–30, 232, 236

Saʾadya Gaon 259
Saba, Dr Charlotte Nicola 279
Sabbagh, Hasib 271
Sabas, Saint 105, 110, 119, 125–6, 130
Sabonji, Daoud 227
Safad 28, 143–5, 163, 170, 174, 176, 182, 203, 235–6, 268, 271
Said, Boulus 292
Said, Edward 1, 5, 7, 47, 217, 231, 243, 248, 265, 267–8, 285, 292
Said, Wadi' 292
Saʿidan, Ahmad Salim 271
Saint George's college (*Madrasat al-Mutran*), of Jerusalem 210, 217
Saint George's school (Madrasat al-Mutran), in Jerusalem) 216–17, 220, 222, 230, 274
Sakakini, Khalil 5–7, 36, 40, 47, 209, 219, 224–6, 230–1, 239–2; al-Dusturiyya school 209, 239–40, 243, 249–50, 251–2; al-Nahda school 251–2, 268; musical education 232, 243, 246, 248–9, 252; learning for pleasure 6, 241, 244–9, 267; Socratic method 239, 241–3, 272; also Government Arab College
Salah al-Din (Saladin) 29, 42, 135, 137–8, 140, 142, 149, 150, 152, 159, 163–6, 179–83
Salahiyya college, in Jerusalem 42, 155, 158–9, 162–8, 171–2, 176–8, 182, 184–5, 213, 241
Salibi, Kamal 5

Samuel, Herbert 272
Sankoré madrasa 29
Sayf al-Dawla 132
Sayigh, Nicola 134
Schadler, Peter 125
Schaff, Philip 284
Schmidt College for Girls, in Jerusalem 212, 234
Scholastic education 8, 40–6, 108–9, 114–16, 118, 143, 145, 153–5, 162, 164–5, 173, 186–7, 192–3, 255
School curricula and pedagogical practices 5, 8, 32, 51, 91, 145; in Byzantine Palestine 65, 74, 91; in kuttab schools 257; in late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine 210–12, 225, 229, 239–40, 243, 268; in medieval Islamic colleges in Jerusalem 42, 151, 153–5, 157, 204, 255; Sumerian 43, 50; in UNRWA's schools 279–80
Scribal activity and monasteries, in Palestine 124
Scribal schools, in ancient Palestine 4–5, 8–9, 11, 13, 17, 30, 33, 40, 49–53
Sela, Rona 292
Sellin, Ernest 52
Shahid, Irfan Arif 271
Shammout, Ismail 132–4
Shawqi, Ahmad 145
Shehadeh, Raja 212
Shikmu (Tell Balata) 4, 50, 52
Shuman, ʿAbd al-Hamid 180
Shuqeiri, Ahmad 191, 203
Shuqeiri, Asʿad 191, 203
Silwan 291
Society for Promoting Female Education (London) 225, 233
Socrates 71, 241–2
Socratic method 239, 241–3, 272; also dialectical and critical pedagogical methods of learning
Sophocles 285–6
Spinoza, Baruch 262
Spring (Rose) Festival, in Gaza 88, 295
Stephen (the Hymnographer), of Mar Saba 118–19, 124, 126, 131
Stephanus, Flavius 93
Stephen, of Ramla 111
Suleiman, of Gaza 112, 118, 121–3
Suleiman the Magnificent (sultan) 184–5, 294
Supreme Muslim Council 194, Islamic schools of 205, 219, 235
Stalin 226
Swedish Theological Institute, in Jerusalem 238

Taha, Hamdan 4
Talitha Kumi school/college 212, 234
Tamari, Salim 245
Tamari, Vera 132
Tankiz, Sayf al-Din Said 163, 170
Tankiziyya college, in Jerusalem 147, 158, 160, 163, 168–78, 185, 198
Tantur Ecumenical Institute 238
Tarbiya 7, 247, 272; also character education
Tchekhanovet, Yana 126
teachers' salaries and pay structure 4, 52, 66, 171–2
teachers' training seminary (*Dar al-Muʾallimin*), of Nazareth 29, 209, 211, 220–5, 228–30, 269, 288
teachers' training seminary of Syrisches Waisenhaus (Lutheran Schneller Orphanage), of Jerusalem 211, 216, 227, 237
teachers' training seminary for women, of Beit Jala 205, 209, 211, 219, 221, 224–5, 269
Technion (the Hebrew Technical Institute), in Haifa 209, 290
Tel Aviv 261 288
Tel Aviv University 3
Tell Balata 4, 50, 85
Tell al-Hesi 50
Terra Sancta schools, in modern Palestine 205, 211–12, 215, 217
Thucydides 75, 77, 87, 286
Tibawi, Abdul Latif 5, 256, 264, 268–70, 276–7, 297
Tiberias 19, 235–6, 43, 109, 191, 193, 203, 236, 257–9, 263
Timotheus, of Gaza 75, 94–5
Tobler, Titus 220
Tolstoy, Leo 222, 231
Totah, Khalil 212, 267, 271–5
transnational education 2, 7–8, 18, 24–7, 31–2, 39, 108, 150, 186–7, 209, 230, 232, 251, 268, 273
travelling sufi teachers 5, 33–4, 136, 145, 151, 153, 161–2, 170–2, 175, 177, 205 256

travelling Islamic schools 256
Treiger, Aleksander 120–1
Tulkarm 177, 203, 274, 276
Tuqan, Ibrahim 213, 217
Tuqan Qadri 293

United Nations Relief and Works Agency's (UNRWA's) schools 32, 279–81
University of Baghdad 221
University of Birzeit 180, 213–14, 265, 266, 277
University of Cairo 193–4, 221
University of Istanbul 193
University of Jordan 281
University of London, Institute of Education 270
University of Qarawiyyin, of Morocco 175

Vagabond Café (Maqha al-Saʾaleek) 226, 248
visual literacy 5, 8–10, 227 266, 288
vocational education and practical skills, in Palestine 41, 100, 153, 214, 216, 232, 240, 255, 273, 277
Voltaire 231, 276

Walls, Archibald 177
Westberg, David 84, 91
women's education 30, 32, 57, 64, 81, 180, 199, 214, 218–19, 221, 223, 225, 227–8, 232, 234, 241, 263, 273, 275, 278–9, 281, 296; also Teachers' Training Colleges for Women
women founders and patrons of Islamic colleges, in Palestine 32–3, 152, 155, 175, 179–80
women's workers ad lodges (*ribats*), in the Islamic colleges of Jerusalem 169–71, 173, 175

Yaqub, Muwaffaq al-Din 182–3
Yavne (Yubna) Jewish yeshiva, in Byzantine Palestine 56
Yubna 56
Young Men's Teacher Training College, in Jerusalem 269; also Government Arab College

Zacharias, of Gaza (Zacharias Scholasticus) 84, 101, 275
Zalatimo, Daoud 133–4
Ziadah, Nicola 205, 271, 276
Zionist Committee of the Hebrew Language 289
Zionist settler colonialism, in Palestine 2–3, 12, 24, 178, 209–11, 214, 220, 226, 251, 263, 273, 278–9, 288–92
Zionist 'war of languages', in Palestine 289
Ziryab 187–8
zoological studies 75, 94–5
Zuʾaiter, 'Adel 231
Zurayk Constantin 229, 247